


T H E
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PROCEEDINGS and DEBATES in the *last Session* of
PARLIAMENT; continued from Page 360.

*Remainder of the DEBATE on the Motion
about the Officers of the Army.*

 —y P--lb--m, Esq; I have attended, Sir, as closely as I could, to what has been said both for and against the Proposition now before us, and I think the Debate is now reduced to this single Point, Whether, by what is now proposed, our Constitution may be mended and made better; or whether it may not rather tend to hurt and injure our Constitution: The latter, Sir, is my Opinion, and I am convinced it appears in the same Light to every one of the Gentlemen who have spoken against the Motion. I do not approve of hard Names, or any Names that are indecent, to this, or any other Proposition made in this House; but as those Liberties have often been taken, by the Gentlemen who now find Fault with what has been said, it may be supposed, that other Gentlemen think they have the same Liberty, and may retort those Names, when they think the Proposition deserves them; however, on all such Occasions, at least on the present, I am sure there is nothing meant, personally, against any of the Gentlemen who have spoken in Favour of the Proposition.

Gentlemen have said, that the Prerogative is a growing Part of our Constitution; for my Part, Sir, I cannot see, wherein it is greater now, than at any Time since the Revolution; nor can I see what should give this Alarm, or make it necessary now to clip and

pare the Prerogative of the Crown, unless Gentlemen have some Scheme for greatly, or perhaps totally altering our Constitution; and if they have, I am sure they can shew us no Manner of Reason for our attempting at present to make any such dangerous Experiment. Suppose his Majesty has thought fit to remove one or two Gentlemen from their Employments in the Army, can that be looked on as a sufficient Reason for taking from his Majesty that Power, which he and his Predecessors have always enjoyed? The very attempting such a Thing really looks as if Gentlemen thought, that some very wrong and wicked Use had been lately made of that Part of the Prerogative, which, in the present Case, they have not the least Ground for; the Worth and Honour of the two noble Persons, who have been removed, must be acknowledged by all; but worthy as they are, it must be granted, that they have been succeeded by two Gentlemen of equal Worth; and surely this cannot be called garbling, or modelling the Army; which can never be the Case, but when the most worthy and honourable are dismissed, and Creatures of mean Birth, or of no Worth, put into their Places.

It is true, Sir, there were a great many Officers removed, about the Time that the D. of Marlborough was removed; and without the Power of removing the inferior Officers, they had not perhaps ventured to have removed that great General from his Command. Such a Law, as what is now proposed, might have been perhaps of some Service at that Time, but it would have been of bad Consequence soon after. We know what were
F f f thought

thought to be the Views and Designs, when the D. of Marlborough was removed; we know, that he was succeeded by a Person, whom I did indeed esteem for his Personal Qualifications, but his political Views had, at that Time, very near ruined our Constitution, and have since, on some Occasions, greatly endanger'd it; and if none of the Officers of the Army, who were on that Occasion put in, or continued in Commission, could have been removed but by the Sentence of a Court-martial, I doubt much, if this House had been now sitting to give their Opinion upon this, or any other Question.

An Hon. Gentleman on the Floor, who spoke some Time ago, happened to drop some Expressions, which I am sure were owing to his Warmth; he spoke of foreign Officers, and insinuated, as if they might happen to be put into the Places of those, who may hereafter be removed. Every Gentleman, Sir, surely knows, that this would be directly contrary to Law: And no Man can say, that there has been any Thing done, or attempted, that can give the least Ground for apprehending any such Thing in Time to come: It was indeed an indecent and an ugly Insinuation: I wish the Gentleman had spared it; but as I am convinced, it was entirely owing to Warmth, I shall take no further Notice of it.

I did not really, Sir, think it necessary to have given you any Trouble in this Debate, since other Gentlemen before me have given very sufficient Reasons for not agreeing to this Motion, and have answered every Thing that has been said in Favour of it; but the Hon. Gentleman who spoke last, seemed so mighty desirous, that Gentlemen would speak against what he and his Friends seem to be for, that I rose up rather to gratify him, than that I thought any Thing necessary to be added to what had before been said against this Proposition; and therefore I shall take up no more of your Time, but leave the Proposition to stand or fall by its own Merits.

Sir *W——m W——nd—m*. The Gentlemen who have spoke against this Proposition, have all of them asserted, I find, Sir, that, should it take Place, it would alter the very Being of our Constitution; from whence we must conclude, that these Gentlemen think, that the very Being of our Constitution consists, not only in having a standing Army, but in having that Army absolutely dependent on the Crown; which is an Opinion so directly contrary to that which every Man ought to have about our Constitution, that I am sorry to hear of its being entertained by any Member of this House. I wish those Gentlemen would consider a little better the Nature, or the Being of our Constitution, and the many Alterations that have, from Time to Time, crept into it; if they do, they

will find no greater Novelty, nor can they find one more dangerous, than that of a standing Army. It is not as yet, I hope, a Part of our Constitution, and therefore what is now proposed cannot be an Alteration of our Constitution; it is indeed so far otherwise, that the very Design of it is, to prevent our Constitution's being altered, by a standing Army's being hereafter made a Part of it; or at least to make that Army less dangerous, in case it should become absolutely necessary for us always to keep up a standing Army.

We have likewise been told, Sir, that the Prerogative is a Part of our Constitution, and the lessening the Power of the Crown, or robbing it of its Prerogative (as Gentlemen have been pleased to call it) is an Alteration of our Constitution. For my own Part, Sir, I have no Notion of any legal Power or Prerogative, but what is for the Benefit of the Community; nor do I think, that any Power can be legal, but what is originally derived from the Community; and it is certain, that all the Power that is, or can be given by the People, must be given for their own Protection: Therefore, if the People should afterwards find, that they have given too much; if they should begin to foresee, that the Power they have given may come to be dangerous to themselves; have they not Reason and a Right to take back what Part of it they think necessary for their own Safety? This, Sir, is the proper Footing on which the present Debate ought to be put; and taking it on this Footing, suppose this Power of removing the Officers of the Army were a Part of the antient Prerogative of the Crown; if the Parliament should foresee that this Power might be made a bad Use of; that it might easily be turned towards enslaving the People, would not the People have a Right to take it from the Crown; would it not be their Duty to do so; nay, ought not the Crown willingly and freely to give it up?

Gentlemen have next endeavoured to frighten us with the Effects of this Proposition, should it be passed into a Law; they say we would soon see what such an Independence in the Army would turn to; but, for God's Sake, Sir, is not the Army to be still as much dependent on King and Parliament as ever? If it should be but suspected that any Officer, or Number of Officers, were going to attempt any Thing against King and Parliament, could not the King immediately suspend them, or even put them under Arrest; and could not the Parliament, as soon as they met, address his Majesty to remove them? On this Occasion, I shall beg Leave, Sir, to state the Difference of the two Cases: In the one Case an Army entirely dependent on the Crown, so much at its Mercy, that let the Merit of those Gentlemen in their military

military Capacity be never so great; let their Fidelity to their King and Country be never so conspicuous; let their past Services be never so meritorious; yet, if they do not implicitly obey all the Orders they shall receive from the Crown, or rather from the favourite Minister; if they do not submit to propagate the most slavish Schemes of a projecting Minister, they may probably be turned out of their Employments in the Army; and thus, after having wore out their Youth and Vigour in the Service of their Country, they may at last, and in their Old-Age, be turned adrift, and reduced to a starving Condition. In the other Case, an Army under no such servile Dependence, having no Reason to doubt of Preferment according to their Merit, and certain they could not be turned out of the Places they have purchased by their long Services, without being guilty of some Crime, or of some dishonourable Behaviour; and having the Constitution, and the Laws of their Country, as a Security for their enjoying all those Advantages as long as they live; is it not, Sir, an easy Matter to determine, in which of these Cases an Army may be of most Danger, or of most Service to the Constitution?

I will allow all that has been said about the Virtue of the present Officers of our Army; about their being *Englishmen*, and every Thing else, that has been said, or can be said in Favour of the Characters of those Gentlemen; but still they are Men, and every Body knows, that those who have a Dependence, perhaps for the Whole they have in the World, must be something more than Men, if they act with the same Freedom, that they would do if they were under no such Influence or Dependence: It is certain; I hope the Gentlemen of the other Side of the Question, even those who now stand up so zealously for the Prerogative, will grant, that ours is a limited Monarchy: Our Constitution depends on its not being in the Power of the Crown to break thro' the Limits prescribed by Law, or to manage so, as to render them quite ineffectual; for when either of these comes to be the Case, our Constitution will be at an End; the Monarchy can no longer be said to be limited, any more than a Man can be said to be under any Restraint, who, tho' locked up in a Room, has the Keys in his Pocket, and may open the Doors when he pleases; or has proper Materials at Hand, and may break the Doors open, and walk out whenever he has a Mind. We are therefore never to give a Power to the Crown; we ought not to leave the Crown in Possession of a Power, which may enable any future King to shake off all those Limitations, which the Royal Power ought by our Constitution to be subject to: And in this View I leave it to every Gentleman to con-

der, whether a standing Army, under the present Circumstances, or under the Regulations now proposed, does portend most Danger to our Constitution? For my Part I think the Case so plain, and the Dangers pretended, from what is now proposed, so chimerical, that I am surprized to hear the Motion opposed by any Gentleman who pretends to have the Liberties, or the Happiness of his Country truly at Heart.

But in particular, Sir, I must at present observe, that if no Notice should be taken of what has lately happen'd; if no such Provision, as is intended by the Bill now moved for, should be made, and we should enter into a War, as is now likely we may be obliged to do, what Encouragement can young Gentlemen of noble and antient Families have to go into the Army; when they consider, that after having often ventur'd their Lives in the Service of their Country, after having honourably acquired some Preferment in the Army, and afterwards, by a natural and Family Interest, are come to have Seats in Parliament, they must then be obliged to forfeit all those Preferments, or otherwise to make themselves Prostitutes to an infamous and wicked Administration? After this melancholy Consideration, Sir, can it be presumed that any Gentleman of Honour will engage with that Alacrity in the Army, as he would do if he were assured of preserving whatever Posts he may have in the Army, with the same Honour and Integrity, with which he acquired them? This, Sir, makes it more particularly necessary at present to agree to the Proposition; and as I think it makes no Encroachment on our Constitution, but is, on the contrary, a very necessary Amendment; as I think it for the Honour of Parliament, and no way inconsistent with the Honour or Safety of the Crown, I shall therefore most heartily agree to it.

Sir *W——m T——ge*. Sir, It is said, I remember, in a printed Paper I read lately, that the Revolution had not brought our Constitution to that Perfection which it ought to have done; but that some Amendments were still wanting, and seemed to be absolutely necessary. I was indeed at some Loss to think what the Amendments were which those reforming Geniuses pointed at, but now the Secret is in some Part out; for the Proposition now in Debate I verily believe to be one of those necessary Amendments they thought of; but the Gentlemen who have spoke before me, have sufficiently proved, that this Amendment would be so far from improving our Constitution, that it would in a great Measure entirely destroy it: And if the other Amendments their Wisdoms have projected, be of the same Nature, I am afraid the People of *England* will not think themselves much obliged to them, for the

Trouble they have taken in projecting such Amendments.

We know, Sir, that the People of this Nation have generally been divided into Parties, and that Party, which I have always been proud to reckon myself one of, has generally, tho' very wrongfully, been called the Republican Party; but if I, or any other Gentleman in this House, who has had the Honour of being reputed a Whigg, should come into this Proposition, we should justly deserve that Name, which those of another Party have always given us by Way of Reproach; for, if this Proposition should take Place, our chief Magistrate could not properly be called a King; he would not have so much Power left him, as the Stadtholder of the Republick of *Holland* has always enjoyed.

The Hon. Gentleman, who spoke last, insisted much on the Danger of an Army's depending upon the Crown, and talked of turning Officers adrift, and reducing them to a starving Condition; but let us, Sir, consult our own Histories, and see, whether an Army depending on the Crown, or an Army depending on the Parliament, has done most Harm to our Constitution: We shall there see, that an Army of the latter Kind, was so far from improving, or doing good to our Constitution, that they quickly overturned it; they soon brought the King from the Throne to the Scaffold; they turned both Lords and Commons out of Doors, and then set up a most arbitrary Government of their own: Whereas an Army of the first Kind has often preserv'd the Constitution: An Army much more dependent on the Crown than our Army is at present, was, we know, so far from supporting the Crown in Attempts against the Liberties of the People, that most of the Army joined with the People in vindicating their Liberties, even against a King, upon whom they had a most absolute Dependence; and while our Army consists only of our own Countrymen, and is commanded by Gentlemen of good Families and Fortunes in the Kingdom, we may always expect from them the same honourable Behaviour.

As for turning Officers adrift, and reducing them to a starving Condition, no such Thing can ever happen to any Officer, that is a Member of this House, let him vote, or behave in this House in what Manner he will; for his very Qualification, the Estate he must have in his own Right and Possession, in order to qualify him for having a Seat in Parliament, will always be sufficient to afford him a comfortable Subsistence; so that if he has any Honour, or any Regard to his Country, the Fear of being turn'd out of his Post in the Army can never prevail on him to give a Vote contrary to what he thinks right. And if we can suppose that any Officer, who

is now, or ever may be in this House, has neither Honour, nor Regard to his Country, with such a Man the Hopes of Preferment will work as effectually, as the Fears of extreme Necessity can be supposed to work with any Man of common Honour; but as no such Thing can, in my Opinion, be supposed, we have no Occasion to give ourselves any Trouble, much less to run ourselves into evident Dangers, in order to provide against it.

In short, Sir, I can see no Necessity for our making such an Alteration in our Constitution; I can see no Cause for our making such an Attack upon the Prerogative; it may be productive of great Mischiefs, but cannot produce any Good. And as for using the Officers ill, the Gentlemen of the Army, who are now in the House, are themselves the best Judges, by which Side of the Question they are worst used; and their Way of Voting on this Question will be the best Proof of their Judgment in that Particular: As for my own Part, I really think the Proposition so unreasonable, and so inconsistent with the Principles, even of those Gentlemen who support it, that I did not at first believe it could have bore so long a Debate.

Sir T———s S———n spoke next in Favour of the Proposition; L——d G———by against it; Sir J———n B———d for it; C———l M———nt and D———n F———s, Esq; against it; and then

Mr. C———r of the E———r spoke as follows, viz. When I first heard, Sir, that such a Motion was to be made to this House, I consider'd with myself, what it was that had given Occasion for Gentlemen's thinking of making such an Innovation in our Constitution, what View or Design they had, and what Form of Government they aimed at: As to all which Particulars I found myself entirely at a Loss. We have heard, Sir, of Monarchies, Aristocracies, Democracies, of Oligarchies and Anarchies; but should this Proposition take Place, I am persuaded, the Government of this Country would soon become what may be called a Stratocracy, an Army-Government, which is a Sort of Government was never yet, I believe, establish'd in any Country, and such a Government as, I believe, no Man in this Nation would be fond of: I shall not run out in Compliments to the Gentlemen of the Army, but, I hope they will not take it amiss if I say that I do not desire to give up our present Form of Government, in order to come under their Government.

As for Trials, Sir, by martial Law, I believe no Gentleman will dispute, but that they have hitherto been very just and impartial; but if the Officers should be once made independent of all other Power, we do not know what those Trials might turn to: I neither

neither can, nor shall say any Thing to reflect upon the Gentlemen who are Judges in such Trials; but we must all allow, that the Nature of Mankind is such, that every one has an Attachment to, and a Bias in Favour of those he looks on to be of the same Body with himself; Merchants, Lawyers, even the meanest Sort of Tradesmen shew a Partiality in Favour of one another; and why we should look on the Officers of the Army to be less liable to those natural Partialities, than any other Set of Men, I cannot see any Reason for; therefore I am apt to believe, that if this Proposition should be once passed into a Law, it would not be possible to remove any Officer by the Sentence of a Court-Martial, as long as he preserved a Character and an Interest in the Army, which of Course would encourage them in the boldest Attempts against the Constitution and the Government of their Country.

Gentlemen have told us, Sir, that Generals are still to be removeable by the King at Pleasure, and that all other Officers are still to be removeable by his Majesty and the Parliament; but I believe it will be granted, that tho' the King should most evidently see a very just Cause for removing a General Officer, he might not find it safe to do so without removing at the same Time a great Number of inferior Officers, whom he knew to be Dependents upon that General, and perhaps associated with him in the same wicked Designs: And if Officers were made secure of their Commissions for Life, it would add so much Weight to their Interest thro' the Kingdom, that they might soon get such an Influence in both Houses of Parliament, as would make it impossible to procure an Address from either House, for the Removal of any of them; besides, the very calling of the Parliament together, which cannot be done suddenly, would give the Alarm to those Officers who might be engaged in a Conspiracy for seizing the Government, whereby they would have an Opportunity of carrying their Designs into Execution, before the Government could by any Means prevent them.

Thus, Sir, we would be in continual Danger of falling entirely under the Government of our Army; and I am sure nothing has of late happened that can give Occasion for our running ourselves into any such Danger. What tho' his Majesty has lately thought fit to remove two Gentlemen from their Commands; can the removing of two Gentlemen only, in a Course of so many Years, be called modelling or garbling the Army? Can it be said, that the Gentlemen who have succeeded them are not Men of as good Families, of as great Estates, and of as untainted Characters as any Gentlemen in the Kingdom? Surely, Sir, this cannot be called garbling,

which, as has been already said, must imply the Removal of the most Worthy, and the putting of the most Unworthy into their Places; and this, I am convinced, the angryest Man in this House will not pretend to be the Case at present.

It is certain, there never were any Removals made, but what occasioned various Speculations, when the Reasons why they were made were not publicly known: In such Cases, every Man who is ignorant of the true Reason, is apt to assign some Reason of his own Invention; but of all the Removals I ever heard of, whatever Talk they might occasion without Doors, never any of them occasioned any Proposition or Motion in this House; no Pretence was ever taken from any such to rob the Crown of its Prerogative, or to alter our Constitution in any Part. Even when the great D. of Marlborough was removed, there was no such Proposition as this ever thought on: The Removal of that great Man I remember well; and I remember too the Arts used by his Enemies first to procure, and then to justify his Removal. What Gentlemen would do by the Bill now proposed, was the very Crime pretended to be laid to his Charge: It was pretended he was contriving how to get himself made General for Life, that he was become too great for his Mistress; and had thrown off all Dependence upon the Crown: That he aimed at being made perpetual Dictator; and to give some Sort of Colour for the spreading of this Calumny, I remember, that a certain zealous Gentleman of those Days, sent a large Present to Mr. Booth, and told him it was for the Part he acted in the Tragedy of *Cato*, against the perpetual Dictator. This shews, Sir, that it was then looked on as a great Crime for an Officer to endeavour to be independent of the Crown; and why it should now appear in a Light so different, as to make the People think it necessary to make a Law for that very Purpose, I cannot imagine.

We know, Sir, that great Endeavours have been of late used to make it be believed abroad, that this is a divided Nation, that the People are disaffected: Hitherto all such Endeavours have had but very little Effect; but if this Proposition should pass into a Law, will not Foreigners have Reason to believe what they have heard? They cannot imagine, that the removing of two Colonels of Regiments, could have produced such a Law, but will naturally say, what we have heard we see now to be true, the Parliament has no Confidence in the King; and therefore they have taken from him that Power which all his Predecessors enjoyed. Is this, Sir, an Opinion which we ought at any Time to promote among our Neighbours abroad, but especially at present, when a just Opinion of the Unanimity and Strength of this Nation

tion may be so necessary for preserving a just Balance of Power in *Europe*, and consequently, the very Being of this Nation.

In short, Sir, the Regulation now proposed can produce no Good, it may produce a Multitude of Mischiefs; and therefore I think we should all say, on this Occasion, *Nolumus Leges Angliæ mutare.*

L.—d C——g^b. I cannot but say, Sir, that the Officers of the Army are very much obliged to the Gentlemen who are for agreeing to the Proposition; but I look on it as a certain Maxim, that no Man can be a proper Judge in his own Cause; and as I have the Honour to be in the Army, I look upon myself as a Party concerned, and therefore, I think, I can neither in Honour nor Conscience offer to give my Vote upon the Question.

After which his L.—p withdrew, and then the Question was put, and carried in the Negative, without any Division.

SPEECHES on the Motion relating to the Duke of Bolton and Lord Viscount Cobham.

After this, S——I S——y^s, Esq; got up, and spoke as follows, *viz.* Sir, what gave Rise to the Proposition last before you, I believe most Gentlemen in this House may easily guess: It was often mentioned in the last Debate, and as in the Course of that Debate, no Gentleman pretended to justify what has lately happened, I have a Question in my Hand which I hope will meet with no Opposition, and therefore, Sir, I shall take the Liberty to move, That an humble Address be presented to his Majesty, humbly to desire his Majesty, that he will be graciously pleased to inform this House, by whose Advice it was that his Majesty was pleased to discharge his Grace, *Charles Duke of Bolton*, and the Right Hon. *Richard, Lord Viscount Cobham*, from the Regiments lately under their several Commands, and what Crimes were alledged against them, which were the Occasion thereof.

W——m P——ney, Esq; I stand up, Sir, to second the Motion, which, I hope, will meet with much better Success than the last: That, indeed, was called, by some Gentlemen, an Attack upon the Prerogative, an Affront to the Crown, and a great many other hard Names, which I thought it very little deserved; but I am sure there cannot be the least Colour of Reason for making such Objections, or for giving such Names to the Motion now made to you: On the contrary, it is shewing a great Tenderness and a most dutiful Respect to his Majesty: The Removal of those two noble Lords, was what no Gentleman in the late Debate so much as endeavoured to excuse, most seemed rather to condemn, and all the World without-doors had, we know, before condemned it. Since then the

Removal of those two noble Lords is look'd on to be a wrong Step, and since his Majesty cannot by Law be supposed to do any Wrong, we ought therefore, in Duty to the Crown, to present such an Address as is now proposed, that his Majesty may be freed from the Suspicion of doing any Thing that is wrong, that the wicked Person who advised it may be pointed out to the World, and that the Reproach of such a Measure may fall where it ought.

If ever it should happen, Sir, to be the Case of this Nation, that a Minister grown insolent in Power, should dare to tell his Master, if you do not dismiss such a Man, or such another, I must abandon you, I can no longer support your Government; and by such Language should prevail on him to dismiss some of his most faithful Servants, only because they had honourably opposed some wicked Attempt upon the Liberties of their Country: I say, Sir, if ever any one Minister, who solely engrossed the Ear of his Master, should arrive at such an Insolence in Power, the King would no longer be the first Man, he would be but the first Slave in the Nation; and in such a Case, would not the Parliament be bound in Duty both to their Country and King, to desire to know who it was that advised such Measures, and what were the Reasons for taking such. This, Sir, is not, I hope, the Case at present; but as the Removing of those two noble Lords has been condemned by the whole Nation, it is sufficient for justifying us in the Application now proposed: Let us know who gave the Advice; it was a wicked one, and the Wickedness of it will be still more apparent, if it shall appear, that those who gave it dare not avow their Reasons for giving it.

After some Time's passing without any Gentleman's rising to speak, but only a Call for the Question,

Sir W——m W——nd——m stood up, and spoke as follows, *viz.* Whether or no there are any Gentlemen in the House against the Question, cannot, as yet, be determined; but if there are, I was in Hopes, Sir, they would have stood up, and have given the House some Satisfaction as to their Reasons for being against a Question which seems to be highly approved of by several Gentlemen in this House: What the Cause of their Silence may be, I shall not pretend to guess, but it seems we are to have no other Satisfaction from them, but only a Call for the Question.

In my Opinion, Sir, the Affair now before us deserves a much more decent Treatment, if it were for no other Reason, but because the Names of two noble Lords are mentioned in the Question, both of whom have done great Services to their Country, but one in particular. As I do not mean, Sir, to compliment

pliment the one, neither will I depretiate the Services of the other, and therefore I say they have both done great Services, tho' in different Capacities; but whoever remembers the late War, which was carried on so much to the Honour of this Nation, must remember how often honourable Mention was then made, in our Gazettes, of Sir Richard Temple: In most of the Accounts transmitted to us from *Flanders*, either of Battles or Sieges, his Name generally stood among the foremost in the List of those gallant Officers, who bravely ventured their Lives in the Service of their Country. And if we look upon his Behaviour in the Senate, it is as much to his Honour as his Service in the Field: In the last he has always acted as a good Officer and a brave Soldier, in the Defence of his Country: in the first he has always behaved as a faithful Subject and a good Counsellor to his King; and that such a Man should be one of the first to fall a Sacrifice to ministerial Resentment is what must give a just Alarm to all the honest Part of Mankind: It is what principally gave Rise to this Day's Debate, and, in particular, to this Motion, which I very much approve of, and if no Gentleman thinks fit to say any Thing against it, I can hardly doubt of its being unanimously agreed to.

No other Gentleman offering to speak, the Question was put, and, upon a Division, carried in the Negative by a considerable Majority.

DEBATE in the H--se of L--ds on the Bill relating to the Officers of the Army.

On the very same Day that the last-mentioned Debate happened in the H--se of C-----s, his G--ce the D--ke of M---gb presented to the H--se of L--ds the Bill, entitled, *An Act for the better securing the Constitution, by preventing the Officers, &c.* of which we gave a true and full Copy in our MAGAZINE for April last, pag. 170. His G--ce introduced the Bill with a very handsome Speech, explaining the Nature of the Bill, and the Necessity there was for making some such Regulations, in a Country which gloried in the Name of Liberty, and where the People were so happy as to preserve that Freedom, after most of their Neighbours had lost theirs by the very Means, which he proposed to obviate by the Bill.

For some Time after the Motion for a second Reading, no Lord stood up to speak either for or against the Bill, only some called for the Question, and when the Question was just going to be put,

The E--l of Cb-----ld stood up, and spoke as follows, viz. My Lords, as there seems to be some of your Lordships against the second Reading of this Bill, I am surprized to hear the Question so much insisted on, before any Lord who seems to be against

a second Reading has stood up to give any one Reason for his being so. If any Motion is made, or Bill presented, to this House, were it an Affair of no Consequence, yet it is a Respect due to the noble Lord who makes the Motion, or presents the Bill, not to put a Negative upon it without giving some Reasons for so doing; but in the present Case it cannot be pretended, but that the Bill now presented is an Affair of the utmost Consequence; it is, in my Opinion, not only a good, but a necessary Bill, and the noble Duke has given so strong Reasons for its passing, that I hope your Lordships will not so much as endeavour to put a Negative upon it, without first giving some Sort of a Reason for what you are about to do.

Such a Method of Proceeding, my Lords, is beneath the Dignity of this House, it will really look as if something else than Reason and Argument prevailed here; and if a second Reading of a Bill of such Consequence be in such a Manner refused, I am sure the World will conclude, that no good Reason could be given for so doing, which, of course, must bring this House into the utmost Contempt, in the Opinion of the Generality of the Nation: This is a Consequence, that, I am convinced, every one of your Lordships must think yourselves concerned in, and therefore I hope some of those Lords who are to give their Negative to the second Reading of this Bill, will stand up and give us their Reasons for being of that Opinion: At present my Opinion happens to be different from theirs, but I now declare to them, that if sufficient Answers are not made to every Objection they shall start, I shall most readily quit the Opinion I am now of, and join with them in putting a Negative upon the Bill.

L--d H---y. I am, my Lords, one of those, and I believe there are a great many more, who are against the second Reading of this Bill. I did not, 'tis true, rise up immediately after the Motion was made, to give my Reasons for being against a second Reading, because I thought the Bill was of a Nature so very extraordinary, and the Objections to it so strong and so evident, that I thought it unnecessary for me or any other Lord, to give himself or the House the Trouble of explaining them: But since the noble Lord, who spoke last, insists so much upon it, in order to satisfy him, I shall give some of those Reasons which prevail with me to be against a second Reading of the Bill; and if either that noble Lord, or any other, can give sufficient Answers to those Reasons, I shall most readily give up my present Opinion, and join with those noble Lords.

With me, my Lords, one of the principal Objections against the Bill is, that I look upon it as an open and a direct Attack upon the Prerogative of the Crown. It is an Attack upon

upon a Prerogative which his Majesty and his Ancestors have enjoyed ever since our Monarchy had a Being; and we all know how nearly connected the Privileges of this House are with the Prerogatives of the Crown; we know, my Lords, that the last open and direct Attack that was made upon the Prerogatives of the Crown, ended in the total Subversion of our Monarchy, and an entire Dissolution of this House; and therefore I cannot but be surprized to see a Bill of this Nature brought first into this House: If such a Bill had passed the other House, and had been sent up to us from thence, I do not doubt but that every one of your Lordships would have easily seen thro' the Design; you would have seen the Snare that was laid against the monarchical Establishment of our Government, upon which the Privileges of every Lord in the Nation absolutely depend; this would have given your Lordships a just Alarm; and this, I doubt not, would have made you receive such a Bill in the Manner it deserved.

I have often heard, my Lords, of a Compact between the King and the People, upon which, it is said, our Constitution and Government depend; if there be any such, the Nature of it must certainly be mutual; upon one Part our Kings are obliged not to encroach upon the Liberties and Privileges of the People; but surely there must be a Counter-part, and by that there must be an Obligation upon the People not to encroach upon the Powers and Prerogatives of the Crown; for it would be a very unjust Compact, if on the one Hand, the King were most strictly tied down, and on the other Hand, the People left at full Liberty to encroach as often, and as far, as they pleased upon the Prerogatives of the Crown. This cannot be the Case; the Compact must be mutual; and as his present Majesty has never once attempted, nor desires, in the least to encroach upon the Liberties or Privileges of the People, it would be very unjust in us to make any Incroachment upon him: Nay, it would be most unwise, and might be attended with the most fatal Consequences; for a Breach of Covenant upon one Side would dissolve all the Covenants upon the other, which would at once unhinge the Whole of our Constitution.

It has been always thought necessary, my Lords, to give our Kings the sole Power of naming, preferring, and removing at Pleasure, the Officers of our Armies, in order to give our Kings that Power and Influence over our Armies, which is necessary for supporting and promoting a proper military Discipline among them, without which they would be of no Use against a foreign Enemy, and might soon become most oppressive to the People, for whose Safety they were raised and maintained. This Power was thought so necessary at the Time of the Revolution, and

it was then thought to be of so little Danger to the Freedom of our Constitution, that at that Time when the Liberties of the People were fully considered, there was not the least Mention made of taking this Power from the Crown, or even of laying it under any Restraints, and I do not know any Thing that has since happened, which can give us the least Ground for thinking differently from our Ancestors at that Time.

The Happiness of our Constitution, my Lords, depends upon that equal Division of Power, which is established among the three Branches of our Legislature: The executive Power, and the defending of the People against their Enemies is now, and always has been, entrusted solely with our King; and as long as the Execution of the Laws, or the Defence of the People against their Enemies, foreign or domestick, is entrusted with the King, it must always be necessary to give our Kings proper Powers for those Purposes: The supreme and ultimate Determination of all Disputes about Property is lodged solely in this House; and the raising of Money for the publick Use, or laying Taxes upon the People, is what now seems to be principally the Province of the other House. Thus the three Branches of our Legislature are a Check upon one another, which prevents its being in the Power of any one of them to oppress the People, or to destroy the other two. Under this Establishment we have been happy for many Ages, under this the Nation has grown up to a very high Pitch of Riches and Power, and while this Establishment continues, it is more than probable, we shall always be happy.

But, my Lords, by the Bill before us, we are to establish a fourth Power, a new Sort of Power, which, I am persuaded, would soon become independent of the other three. This is making a most considerable Alteration in our Constitution, that may be attended with such fatal Consequences that it makes me tremble to think of it: To establish a General for Life at the Head of a well-disciplined Army, commanded by Officers who could not be removed, but by the Consent of one another, would soon put it in the Power of that General to make himself Master both of King and Parliament: The Transition from *Dux* to *Rex* would soon become easy for him; by this the Constitution might be entirely overthrown, and the Nation might be involved in a Multitude of Calamities.

'Tis true, my Lords, that by what is proposed in the Bill now before us, an Officer may still be removed, upon an Address from either House of Parliament; but as the Parliament cannot be kept always sitting, this Address could not often be speedily obtain'd; and if an Officer should be discovered to be conspiring the Overthrow of the Government, and

and should, notwithstanding, be continued in his Commission, and in the Possession of that Power in the Army which he had, by Virtue of his Commission, till the next Session of Parliament; both Houses might, perhaps, address for turning him out, but his Power in the Army might by that Time be so well established, that it would be out of the Power of both King and Parliament to divest him of his Command; and as for a Tryal by a Court-martial, I believe, it would not be so much as pretended, that a Sentence could be got against such an Officer, or indeed against any Officer, who had a great Influence in the Army: It is not to be presumed that Officers would be ready to condemn one another, unless it was for a Crime which they themselves could no way approve of, especially when they knew that they could not be removed by any other Authority.

Since then, my Lords, I can see no Manner of Occasion for the Regulation now proposed, since I am of Opinion that it would be a great Injury done to his Majesty, that it would tend to destroy all military Discipline in the Army, and would greatly endanger, if not totally subvert our happy Constitution, I cannot therefore agree to the giving it a second Reading.

The E—l of *Or—y* spoke next for the Question, the E—l of *Cb—y* against it, the M—s of *T—le* for it; and then the

D—ke of *N—fle* stood up, and spoke as follows, viz. My Lords, as I shall certainly give my Vote against the second Reading of this Bill, I must beg Leave to give some of my Reasons for so doing. I must be of Opinion, my Lords, that it will be always proper to leave in his Majesty a Power of removing the Officers of the Army at Pleasure, in order to preserve that Respect and Obedience which is due from them to their King; but I am the more firmly of this Opinion, when I consider, that there is at present a Pretender to the Crown of these Realms; for while there is such a Misfortune hanging over us, we may conclude, that there will be always Plots and Contrivances in this Kingdom against the Person in Possession of the Throne; and while there is a Pretender, he may have, without all doubt, his Agents in the Army, as well as he has every where else: Under such Circumstances it is not to be doubted, but that some of the Officers may, at some Time or other, be drawn away from their Duty to their King and Country, they may happen to be misled, and drawn into Engagements against his Majesty's Person and Government; and while his Majesty is in such Danger, shall we put it out of his Power to remove those Officers, tho' he has certain Information of their being in a Plot to over-

throw his Government, perhaps even to take away his Life?

This, my Lords, his Majesty may have most certain Information of, the Officers concerned in such Engagements may be made known to him, beyond all Doubt, and yet the Proofs may be such as would not prevail upon a Court-martial to condemn their Brother Officer to Death, or even to be broke; or they may be such as could not properly, at least, at that Time, be laid before a Court-martial; because if they were laid before any such Court, the Informers, and all the other Methods by which the Plot was at first discovered, and the whole Progress of it traced, must then become publickly known, by which all further Discovery would be effectually prevented; and if this Bill should pass into a Law, his Majesty would be under a Necessity of laying all these Proofs immediately before a Court-martial, or of allowing such treacherous Officers, perhaps, even one of his Chief-Generals, to continue in Command, by which they might probably be enabled to render their Conspiracies successful; for which Reason I hope, that none of your Lordships will approve of this Bill, when you consider how dangerous it may prove to our present happy Establishment, and how much it may weaken the Hands of the Government against any Attempts that may hereafter be made in Favour of the Pretender.

Besides this, my Lords, there are many other Cases, wherein his Majesty might have very good Reason to remove an Officer, tho' it would not be at all proper to make that Reason so publick as to lay it before a Court-martial: There are likewise many little Crimes which an Officer may be guilty of, and for which he might highly deserve to be removed, and yet these Crimes may be such as could not well come under the Cognizance of a Court-martial; at least it would not be possible to obtain a Sentence of a Court-martial for the removing of such an Officer; for when Gentlemen sit in Judgment upon a Brother Officer, in order to determine whether he ought to be broke or not, it is to be supposed, that they will not pass Judgment against him, unless some very enormous Crimes be fully proved before them; which would make it impossible to keep up that strict Discipline, and regular Subordination, that must be observed in any Army fit for Service, or that may be depended on for the Defence of a Country.

I must, indeed, say, my Lords, that if any Attempts had ever been made towards modelling the Army, and making it fit for any bad Purpose, there might then have been some Occasion for proposing such a Bill as this; but as no such Attempts have ever been made, or can be so much as apprehended

from his present Majesty, I am therefore surprized to hear such a Bill so much as proposed in this House, at present. I am sure the passing of it, at present, would be a subjecting of the Nation to many great and certain Dangers and Inconveniences, for the Sake of avoiding an Inconvenience that has never been felt by any but in Imagination; and for this Reason I must be against giving the Bill a second Reading.

E—l of Cb—*Id.* I have, my Lords, before declared, that my Opinion was for reading this Bill a second Time; I likewise said, I would alter my Opinion, if any Lord could give me a sufficient Reason for so doing; but, from what has fell from the noble Lords who have spoke against the second Reading, I am so far from altering my Opinion, that I now think a second Reading of the Bill is absolutely necessary, even before we can enter into any Debate upon the Merits of it; for all the Arguments made use of against a second Reading, all the Objections hitherto made to the Bill, are founded upon Suppositions directly contrary to the Contents of the Bill.

It has been said, that the Bill is a direct Attack upon the Prerogative, and that it is designed for destroying, or at least diminishing, the Power of the Crown; but, my Lords, if what is proposed in the Bill be duly considered, it will appear to be neither an Attack upon the Prerogative, nor so much as a Diminution of the Power of the Crown: There is no Power to be taken from the Crown, but that Power which the Crown ought never to make use of: It is certain, that the Crown ought never to take an Officer's Commission from him, but for some very sufficient Reason, and upon a full Proof of the Facts alledged against him; and therefore all that is proposed by this Bill, is only a Method, by which the Crown may get such an Information as to the Facts alledged as may be depended on; whereby the Crown may be secured against Impositions, and the Officers against private Misrepresentations, and false Accusations: It is, my Lords, to prevent the King's being maliciously led into the doing a Piece of the highest Injustice to a faithful Soldier, and to prevent a good and a brave Officer from being whisper'd out of his Commission, and reduced to a starving Condition for no Crime, perhaps for a Piece of Behaviour for which he ought to be highly rewarded. Can this, my Lords, be called a Diminution of the Power of the Crown? Is it not plainly grounded upon that fundamental Maxim of our Constitution, which says, That the King of England shall have it in his Power to do as much Good as he pleases, but shall not have it in his Power to do Wrong?

The Objection as to general Officers, is likewise, my Lords, founded on a Mistake;

for if the noble Lords had attended to the first Reading of the Bill, they must have known, that with Respect to general Officers, the Power of the Crown is to remain in the very same State it was in before; the Regulation proposed, is to extend no higher than Colonels of Regiments; and surely the continuing of the most designing and the most daring Man, in the Command of a single Regiment, for 2 or 3 Months, after a Discovery of his wicked Designs, can be of no dangerous Consequence; even tho' the continuing him for that Time were, by this Bill, to be made necessary; but that is not the Case, which leads me to consider another Mistake, from which an Argument hath been drawn, and much insisted on by some of the noble Lords who have spoke against the Question.

The Pretender, my Lords, I find, is to be lugg'd into this Question, as he has been into some others, in which he had very little to do, and the Danger the Nation lies exposed to from him is to be made an Argument for our not taking that Care of our Liberties and

Constitution which we ought. I hope I am as little suspected of favouring any Designs from that Quarter, as any Lord in this House; if there were the least Ground for that Argument, it would be a most prevailing Argument with me for being not only against the second Reading of this Bill, but for the rejecting of it with the utmost Disdain: But those Lords who make use of this Argument, seem not to take Notice, that the King is still to retain the Power of suspending and putting under an Arrest any Officer, or Number of Officers, he pleases, and at whatever Time or Times he may think proper; and if the least Discovery should be made, that any Officer, or Officers, were drawn into a Plot, in Favour of the Pretender, or any other Plot against his Majesty's Person and Government, could not his Majesty immediately suspend all such Officers from their Commands? Could not he immediately lay them all under an Arrest? Nay, could not he immediately throw them all into a common Prison, or at least into the Hands of Messengers, and detain them there, till it should be found convenient to bring them to a Tryal before a Court-martial, or otherwise; or at least till the Parliament should be called, in order to have an Address from this or the other House for breaking such of them, against whom a legal and full Proof could not be obtained? Is it to be doubted, that either this House or the other, or, indeed, both, would refuse to address his Majesty on such an Occasion? And would not this as effectually disappoint all their Plots and Contrivances, as if his Majesty had immediately broke every one of those Officers who were at first represented to him as concerned in that Plot?

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This Bill has likewise been represented as if it would destroy the Influence his Majesty ought always to have in the Army, and annihilate the Dependence the Officers ought always to have upon the Crown: But this, my Lords, seems likewise to be founded upon a Mistake, or at least an Oversight; for, notwithstanding any Provision in the Bill, the Power of naming and preferring the Officers is to remain absolute in the Crown; and besides, there will be many other Ways left, by which the Crown may secure the Respect and Dependence of all the Officers in the Army; so that there is nothing in this Bill, that can possibly diminish that just and due Influence which the Crown ought to have in the Army. The Hopes of Preferment alone are sufficient for influencing every Officer to do his Duty, and to shew that Respect which is due both to the Crown, and to his superior Officers: They may not, indeed, be sufficient for influencing an Officer to act contrary to his Duty, both as to his King and Country, by obeying the private Commands of a wicked Minister; but this, my Lords, and this only, is what is by this Bill proposed to be guarded against. All that is proposed is, only that no Minister of State shall hereafter have it in his Power to tell an Officer of the Army, in a Case that perhaps no Way regards military Discipline, Sir, — you shall do so or so, — or starve!

Thus, my Lords, I think I have shewn, that all the material Objections against the second Reading of this Bill are founded upon Mistakes, as to the Nature of it, which, in my Opinion, is a most convincing Argument for giving it at least a second Reading. There has indeed one or two other Arguments been made use of, which I am greatly surprized at. It has been said, there are several Crimes an Officer may be guilty of, which cannot properly be brought before a Court-martial; or at least where Justice upon the Offender could not well be expected from a Court-martial: Here indeed I am quite at a Loss, for I know of no military Crimes but what may properly be brought before a Court martial, and unless it be such Crimes as are proper for the Cognizance of our spiritual Courts, I do not know any other, but where the most severe and impartial Justice has always been given by, and may always be expected from Courts-martial: I am sure, that if any Officer be guilty of Cowardice, of Neglect of Duty, or of any Action, that is in the least dishonourable, the most strict Justice may always be expected from a Court-martial; nay, so severe have the Officers of our Army always been, in such Cases, upon one another, that for some Failings, which the Crown has overlook'd, which the Generals have so far overlook'd, as not to bring them before a Court-

martial, yet the Officers themselves have taken Notice of them, and have refused to roll or to serve with the Man who has been guilty of them; and therefore to pretend, that martial Discipline could not be kept up in the Army, if Officers could not be broke or removed but by a Court-martial, is an Argument founded upon a Supposition, directly contrary to Experience.

The other Argument, which surprizes me, is founded upon a new Sort of Doctrine; by which we are taught, that the Prerogative is never to be touched in the least; you are never to make any Law for regulating the Prerogative in any Branch; the Compact between King and People must be mutual; the People must be as much obliged not to incroach on the King's Prerogative, as he is obliged not to incroach on their Privileges. As to the Compact's being mutual, and the Parties equally bound, I shall, my Lords, easily grant; yet that can be no Bar to our making as many Acts of Parliament as we please for regulating, or even restraining the Prerogative, because to every such Act the King gives his Consent, and surely all the Persons concerned in a Compact may, by their mutual Consent, make what Alterations in it they please: And so the Case is, we have, by Acts of Parliament, made many Alterations with Regard to the Prerogative; and I believe every one of your Lordships will grant, that it is to these Alterations, that we owe the Liberty we now enjoy. The Prerogative has been often restrained and limited, or at least brought back to its primitive Institution. Was not the *Habeas Corpus* Act a most noted and useful Limitation of that Prerogative which our Kings then pretended to? Did not our Kings formerly pretend to a Power and Prerogative of removing the Judges at Pleasure? But this Prerogative was found inconsistent with the Liberties of the People, and therefore, by the Claim of Right, an Alteration was made as to that Part of the Prerogative. And as to that Part now insisted on, it is well known, that it has grown up of late Ages, for by our primitive Institution, the King could not remove the Officers of the Army: The Nobility and the Barons were the proper Officers, and each of them led out to War, and commanded his own military Tenants, so that their Commands in the Army depended upon their Tenures, from neither of which the King could remove them, without their being legally found guilty of a Crime; and from the Writings of the learned Judge *Coke*, who, I believe, will be allowed to have understood our antient Constitution, we may learn, that in antient Times the Freeholders of each County chose their Leader in War, as well as they did the Sheriffs and other Officers for Times of Peace. * And there-

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* *Coke*, Part II, on the Statute of *Westminster*. 1st Chap. 10.

fore what is now proposed must appear so far from being an Attack upon, or a Diminution of, the antient Prerogative of the Crown, that it does not near bring it back to its primitive Institution.

It has been said, that at the Revolution no such Provision was made as is now proposed: Very true, my Lords; but the Reason was, because before that Time we never had such a Thing as a legal standing Army; we had, indeed, a few regular Troops, but they never, I believe, amounted to 4000 Men, which could not properly be called an Army; so that it was impossible we could think of making any Regulation about a Thing not then in Being: And moreover, it cannot be said, that at the very Time of the Revolution, the Liberties of the People were, or indeed, could be, fully considered; it cannot be pretended, that every Thing was then removed that might be of dangerous Consequence to them, for do not we know, that even since that Time some Regulations have been made with Respect to the Prerogative? Even that remarkable Regulation of triennial, or, as we have them now, septennial Parliaments, was not made till some Time after the Revolution; and yet this was not only a great, but a necessary Diminution of the Prerogative, in order to secure the Liberties of the People: It is not in the Power of Man, my Lords, to foresee all the Evils and Inconveniences that may afterwards arise, and therefore it is impossible for Men to provide proper Remedies against them all; we can provide against them only by Degrees, and as they happen to come under our Observation.

The Evil proposed to be remedied, or at least prevented, by the Bill, is what has been long under the Observation of most Gentlemen in the Kingdom, and therefore, my Lords, I am extremely surprized to hear it said, that no Examples have happened which could give Occasion for such a Bill. Is it not well known, that we have had several Examples of Officers turned out of their Commissions only for not being submissive to the Ministers for the Time being? Do not we all know, that in the End of the late Queen's Reign Numbers of Gentlemen were turned out of their Commissions, without any Reason, without any Crime so much as alledged against them? Do not we know, that, even in the late King's Reign, there were a great many brave Officers removed, without being guilty of any Crime, at least, I am sure they were not guilty of any military Crime, no not so much as of a Neglect of Duty; they could not even be accused of any Want of Respect to the Crown; the Whole, I believe, of what could possibly be laid to their Charge was, that they were not, perhaps, so submissive to the prime Minister, as he thought he had Reason to expect. These Removes

were, at that Time, my Lords, so much taken Notice of, that it occasioned a very great Debate upon the Mutiny-Bill, both in this and the other House: I was then, my Lords, in the other House, and I well remember, it was there strongly insisted on, as an Objection against that Clause of the Bill, by which Officers are made Judges in Cases of Life and Death, that it was very improper they should be Judges in any such Case, as long as their Commissions entirely depended upon the Crown, and might be taken from them whenever a Minister had a Mind.

And, my Lords, tho' his present Majesty's Justice and Prudence be known to the whole World, yet we find, that even he has been prevailed on, by what Means I do not know, to remove two Officers, both Members of this House, neither of whom, in so far as I can hear, has ever yet been accused of any Crime, or of any Want of Respect to the Crown; no not so much as of a Neglect of Duty. What I am now on is, I know, my Lords, a tender Point, I am sorry I am obliged to mention it; and I would avoid it, if I did not know my Heart to be so warmly affected to his Majesty, that I am sure it will not allow my Tongue to say any Thing unbecoming of him. If there is any Fault, I am sure his Majesty is not to blame: If the two noble Lords were removed without a sufficient Cause, it could not proceed from any Thing wrong in his Majesty: It must have proceeded from some Misrepresentations, or private and malicious Accusations which his Majesty has not yet discovered to be false; but when he does, we may depend upon it, he will do Justice to the two noble Lords who have been injured, and will severely punish those who have been guilty of giving him a false and a malicious Information: This, my Lords, we may most certainly expect from his Majesty; but this shews, that even out of that Regard we ought to have for the Crown, we ought to agree to the Bill now before us; because it will, for the future, put it out of the Power of any Person to impose upon the Crown, by any false Surmises, or malicious Misrepresentations.

I think, my Lords, I have now left no Argument against the Bill unanswered, but that most extraordinary one, of its being Time enough to guard against the Evil of modelling an Army for any bad Purpose, after it has once happen'd: I hope it will be granted me, that the modelling of an Army for the private and particular Purposes of a Minister, or Ministry, is as bad a Purpose as any that can be imagined; and I think I have shewn, that such a Modelling was actually set on Foot in the End of the late Queen's Reign, and something like it happen'd even in his late Majesty's Time; and therefore it must be granted, that it is now high Time

to think of guarding against it; but if it be meant that nothing like it has happen'd in his present Majesty's Time, the Argument will still be more extraordinary, for does not every one know, that before such a Bill can pass into a Law, the King, at that Time upon the Throne, must give his Consent to it; and if any King, by the Advice of an evil Minister, should once actually begin to model his Army, would it not be ridiculous to expect the Consent of that King to a Law for putting a Stop to what he had actually begun; so that his Majesty's never having attempted any such Thing, is one of the strongest Arguments for our passing the Bill; because it is only from such a just and such a gracious King as the present, that the Royal Assent to such a Bill can ever be expected.

I hope, my Lords, I have now fully shewn the Weakness of all the Objections made to the Bill: But as to the Arguments for it, they are strong, they are convincing: I shall only touch upon that one, which I think has the greatest Connexion with the Nature of our Constitution. It is well known, my Lords, that there are many Officers, who have nothing, or, at least, very little to subsist on, but their Commissions; and it is likewise well known, that there are many Gentlemen of the Army now in both Houses of Parliament: There are now, my Lords, more Officers in each House than there were when we had on Foot an Army of above 60000 Men: It is, I do not know how, become, of late Years, a prevailing Opinion, that the only best Way of getting Preferment in the Army, is to have a Seat in this or the other House: This, 'tis true, my Lords, must be an erroneous Opinion: It is impossible that any Man can justly and honourably acquire any Preferment in the Army by his Behaviour in either House of Parliament, and therefore this must be an Opinion for which I hope there never was any Ground: I am sure there can be no Ground for it under his present Majesty; but erroneous as it is, it is become a general Opinion, and we know that Mankind always were, and always will be governed and influenced by general Opinions and Prejudices; and according as the Prevalence of this Opinion increases, we may expect an Increase of the Number of Officers in both Houses of Parliament.

We may expect, my Lords, that, in future Times, as soon as any Gentleman has once got a Commission in the Army, he will next employ all his Money, Credit and Friends, to procure himself a Seat in Parliament; he will, perhaps, pawn the last Shilling's-worth he has in the World, besides his Commission, in order to procure himself a Seat in the other House; and how dangerous it may be to our Constitution, to have such

a Man depending for the Continuance of that Commission, upon some future enterprizing Minister, I leave to your Lordships to judge. No Man has a better Opinion than I of the present Officers of the Army; but I think it too hard a Tryal, even for their Virtue, especially in this degenerate Age, to leave it in the Power of a desperate Minister, to tell them, on Occasion of an important Question in Parliament, If you do not vote, Sir, as I direct you, you shall starve!

Your Lordships are all convinced, that the Happiness, the Essence of our Constitution does not depend on outward Forms, but Realities. Our Constitution does not depend on our having always a Parliament; but on that Parliament's being independent of the Administration; on its being in the Power of Parliament to examine severely, and judge impartially the Conduct of those in the Administration; to represent the Grievances, and watch over the Liberties and Properties of the People; and to take away evil Counsellors from before the King: But if ever a Majority of both Houses should come to be composed of Gentlemen whose daily Bread, or at least their chief Support, depended intirely upon the Favourites of the Crown, can it be imagined, it would then be in the Power of Parliament to examine freely, or judge impartially, the Conduct of those Favourites; to relieve the People from the Oppressions brought upon them by such Favourites; or to tell their Sovereign any ungrateful Truths about those whom he had thought fit to employ as his Ministers? Would not an arbitrary Negative be then put upon all such Questions? Would not the best Designs of the uncorrupted and independent Few be baffled by a corrupt and a slavish Majority? And shall any Question which tends towards the preventing of such a Misfortune, have now the ill Fate to be rejected by your Lordships?

The Bill is so far from being an Attack upon the Prerogative, that it is in the very same Terms with a Bill drawn up in the very last Reign, by as able and as honest a Minister as ever served the Crown: He was indeed an honest and a disinterested Minister; for he had the Happiness of his Country so much at Heart, that he neglected his own, and has left little else to his Son, but the Honour of a Seat amongst your Lordships: The Bill, I say, my Lords, was not only drawn up, but even his late Majesty, who never could be accused of allowing of any unjust Encroachments upon the Crown, had, by the Advice of that Minister, agreed to its being brought into Parliament: And if it had been brought in at that Time, which was, I do not know how, prevented, not only the Ministers were ready to have supported it, but the King himself to have given it the Royal Assent, as soon as presented to him, This, my

my Lords, I know to be true, and therefore I am the more surprized to hear the Offering of such a Bill now represented as an Attack upon the Prerogative, an Affront to the King.

We all know, my Lords, there is nothing proposed by this Bill, but what has been done in every Country, where are any Remains of Liberty left. In *Holland*, no Officer was, I believe, ever removed but by a Court-martial; I do not remember ever any was, nor do I know any other Way, by which an Officer can be broke or removed in that Country. In *Sweden*, as soon as they recovered their Liberties, by the Death of their late heroick King, they established this Rule, that no Officer should be removed or broke, but by a Court martial, or by the King, with the Consent of the Senate. And in *Poland*, their late King having made strong and repeated Remonstrances to the States of that Kingdom, to have a Body of regular Troops raised, and kept up, the States at last consented to it: But how did they consent? They agreed indeed to the raising of the Troops, but with this Regulation, that all the Officers should have their Commissions for Life, which was a wise and a necessary Regulation; but whatever Designs the Court of *Poland* had in asking for those Troops, they found, that the raising of them, and keeping them up under that Regulation, would so little answer the Ends they had proposed, that they never put the Ordinance, which they had so strongly solicited, in Execution, nor was there a Man raised on that Foot. In short, my Lords, the Regulation intended by this Bill, is what has been thought necessary in all free Countries; in this I think it absolutely necessary for the Preservation of our Constitution; I can see no reasonable Objection that can be made to it, and therefore I shall still be for a second Reading.

After his Lordship the Lord *W——by*, and the Earl of *Ab——n*, spoke both in Favour of the Bill, and then the Question was put, which upon a Division, was carried in the Negative: Lords present 49 Contents, 73 Not Contents; Proxies 13 Contents, and 22 Not Contents; in all 62 Contents, and 100 Not Contents; so that it was carried against the second Reading by a Majority of 38, the spiritual Lords included. (See the PROTEST on this Occasion in our *Magazine* for April, p. 168.) Immediately after this,

The Earl of *S——gb* stood up, and spoke as follows, viz. Before this Question was put, I had not, my Lords, an Opportunity to give my Sentiments upon it, tho' I had fully considered it; and the more fully, because I thought both my own Honour, and the Happiness of my Country were deeply concerned in it: However, I shall now take an Opportunity to declare, that I never gave

my Negative to any Question more heartily, or with greater Conviction, than I did to the second Reading of this Bill; which really, in my Opinion, is one of the most extraordinary Bills that ever was brought before this House, and therefore I must think it deserves something more than the putting of a bare Negative upon its being read a second Time.

A It has often been endeavoured, by many Lords in this House, to set a regular standing Army in the most terrible Light; and great Art has formerly been used to shew the dangerous Consequences of such an Army; but in all the Debates that have happened upon that Head, there never was any such fatal Consequences pretended, as I should have dreaded from a standing Army under the Regulations prescribed in this Bill. While our Army continues in the State it is now in, while it depends on the Parliament for its very Existence, and the Officers depend on the King for the continuing of them in their Commands, I shall never have any Fears about the Consequences which may from thence ensue; but if this Bill had passed into a Law, our Army had been made independent both of King and Parliament. The Officers would then have depended upon no Power but their own; they would soon have begun to think that they had a legal Right to their Commissions, and consequently to their Pay; and if both King and Parliament had joined in Opinion for reducing any Number of them, they would have looked on it as an Injury done them, and would have been apt to have joined all together to prevent the Effect of any such Resolution; and if they had, I would be glad to know, how the Resolutions of King and Parliament could have been made effectual against them; whereas, while they remain in the dependant State they are in at present, they know they have no longer any Right, either to their Commissions or to their Pay, than it shall please his Majesty to continue them in their Command, and therefore they readily submit, whenever his Majesty finds it proper to reduce any Number of them.

This, my Lords, would have been the Consequence as to the Publick; but then as to private Persons the most terrible Oppressions might have ensued. The Officers of the Army, like all other Sets of Men, are apt to favour one another; they are likewise apt to favour the common Soldiers, as being of the same Body with themselves: We all know how many little Acts of Oppression may be committed by the Officers and Soldiers in their respective Quarters, and otherwise, which cannot come under the Cognizance of the common Law. If in such Cases the Officer should be guilty of Oppressions, or should connive at the Irregularities committed by the Soldiers under his Command, we may easily judge what would be the Consequence,

if the Offender could not be any way punished, but by a Tryal and Sentence of his Brother Officers in a Court-martial, who might probably be all guilty of the same Crimes and Irregularities: And if, in such Cases, the Officers had nothing to fear, either from King or Parliament, our regular Army would soon become intolerably irregular, and a most insupportable Grievance to the People, in all Parts of the Country, thro' which they should march, or where they should be posted.

This, I find, my Lords, was an Inconvenience which the Projectors of this Bill were aware of; and therefore they have pretended to contrive a Remedy for this Evil, by leaving Officers liable to be broke, or removed by his Majesty, upon an Address from either House of Parliament; but I am afraid that this Remedy would have been soon found to be altogether ineffectual. The principal Reason assigned for bringing in this Bill was, because the Officers of the Army are now become numerous in both Houses, and may soon become more numerous, so as at last to be able to bear too great a Sway there. If this be the Case at present, would not we have much more to fear from their Numbers and Sway in Parliament, if they had a Sort of Freehold in their Commissions; which they would have had, if this Bill had passed into a Law? Would not the holding of their Commissions for Life have made every one of them more considerable in the Country, than they can possibly be in the precarious Condition they are in at present? and if you had added to their Weight and Interest in the Country, would not you of Course have increased their Numbers and their Sway in both Houses of Parliament? This, my Lords, I look upon as a most certain Consequence; and are we not reasonably to suppose, that all the Officers in both Houses, would have joined, not only in voting, but in making all the Interest they could against any Motion for such an Address? and I am convinced, the Officers would soon have got such an Interest in both Houses, that it would have been impossible to have procured an Address from either House, for the Removal of any one of them. The Officers who had Seats in Parliament, would, upon any such Motion, naturally have told you, Why this extraordinary Remedy? If the Man is guilty send him to us; we'll try him, and break him by the Sentence of a Court-martial; and if he be not guilty, he ought not to be broke; he ought not to be oppressed by a Vote of either House of Parliament.

At present, my Lords, if any of the Officers commit any Act of Oppression, or allow the Soldiers under their Command to commit any Irregularities upon the poor People among whom they are quartered; the ho-

nest Countryman has a ready Redress; he represents his Case to his Landlord, and his Landlord, either by himself, or by some Gentleman of his Acquaintance, gets the poor Man's Case laid before the Secretary at War, who represents it to the King; and if an Officer should be often found guilty of such little Trespasses, to be sure his Majesty would cashier him, which certainly is a Check upon the Behaviour of those Officers whose Inclinations may, perhaps, be very strong towards Acts of Oppression: But if this Bill had passed, where should the poor Man have gone to complain? If he had got his Case represented to the Secretary at War, and by that Means to the King, what could his Majesty have done? He would have had no Power to rectify the Abuse, or to punish the Offender: And if the Officer had been brought before a Court-martial, they could not have enquired into the general Course of his Behaviour; they could have enquired only into that particular Fact, which they would not, probably, have found to be of Weight enough to have broke a Brother Officer; and even as to that particular Fact, it might have happened, that the Court-martial was composed of Officers who were most of them guilty of, and liable to be prosecuted for the same sort of Crime; I believe it will not be supposed that the poor injured Man would have met with much Redress from that Court-martial; who would have been loath to have encouraged such Complaints, by giving a proper Redress. This might have been the Case as to Courts-martial; and how difficult it would have been for a poor Countryman, perhaps in some remote Part of the Island, or indeed, for any Man, to have obtained Redress by a Complaint in Parliament, I have already shewn.

Whether this Difficulty of obtaining Redress against an oppressive and unruly Officer would not have encouraged great Licentiousness in the Army, I leave to every one of your Lordships to judge. Even with all the Power the Crown now has over the Officers and Soldiers, it is a difficult Matter to prevent their being sometimes a little troublesome in their Quarters, or to keep up that regular and exact Discipline which ought to be preserved in an Army; but if this Bill had passed into a Law, it would have been impossible to have prevented the one, or enforced the other: Nay, I do not see, my Lords, how it would have been possible for the Colonel of a Regiment to have commanded that Submission and Respect which is due to him by the Officers of his own Regiment: All inferior Officers would have become so independent of their Superiors in Command, that it would have been impossible to keep them to a strict Observance of their Duty: Every little Fault, every little Neglect of Duty, could not have been brought

brought before a Court-martial; and if it had, the Officers would have been loath to have broke a Brother Officer for one little Failing, of which they, or most of them, perhaps, had been guilty. Whereas, while the Power of Removing remains in the Crown, the whole Tenor of an Officer's Behaviour may be considered, and if, upon the whole, it appears to be bad, and without any Hopes of Amendment, his Majesty may, and certainly would, remove him from his Post in the Army.

In short, my Lords, the evil Consequences of this Bill are so numerous, that I hope your Lordships will endeavour to prevent any such Bill's being brought in for the future; and therefore I shall move, that it may be rejected.

Upon which Motion, the Question was immediately put, and was carried in the Affirmative, without a Division.

DEBATE in the House of Lords on the Motion relating to the D. of Bolton, and Lord Viscount Cobham.

Then my Lord C——t stood up, and after a short Speech, moved, that an humble Address should be presented to his Majesty, that he would be graciously pleased to acquaint the House, who advised his Majesty to remove the Duke of Bolton, and the Lord Viscount Cobham, from their respective Regiments, and what Crimes were laid to their Charge.

Whereupon the Earl of I——a stood up, and spoke as follows, *viz.* My Lords, the Motion the noble Lord has made, is, I think, a very new and a very extraordinary one, and it is the more extraordinary, in that his Lordship has made it just after he has seen the Bill offered by some of his Friends rejected by this House; for to me it appears plain, that since the Lords who offered that Bill find, that this House will not agree to the Bill, they are resolved upon endeavouring to obtain by a Motion, the very same Thing, which they had endeavoured to obtain by their Bill.

The Design of the Bill was, to take away from the Crown the Power of removing the Officers of the Army, and to enact, that for the future no Officer should be removed but by a Court-martial, or by an Address from either House of Parliament. This the House has, I think, for very good Reasons refused to agree to; and therefore now they propose to us to demand from his Majesty the Reason why he has removed two Officers from their Commands. Surely every one of your Lordships must see, that such an Address would have the very same Effect; for if such a Precedent should once be made, it would soon become an usual Custom: If ever his Majesty, or any of his Successors, should at any Time hereafter think proper to remove any Officer, there would immediately be an Address from one,

perhaps from both Houses of Parliament, demanding his Majesty's Reasons for the Removal of that Officer; and in case the Reasons given should appear to Parliament not to be sufficient, we need not doubt but that the first Address would be followed by a second, for replacing that Officer, which the King would be obliged to comply with, or fall out with his Parliament; so that neither his Majesty, nor any of his Successors, would ever venture to remove an Officer from his Command, but by the Sentence of a Court-martial, or in Pursuance of an Address previously obtained from Parliament for that Purpose.

Thus, my Lords, it is plain, that the Address now moved for, would make such a Precedent, as would have the same Effect with the Bill which your Lordships have just now rejected. Nay, it is certain, that the Precedent would have a more extensive Effect, and worse Consequences, than the Bill could have had; because the Bill was confined, it went no higher than Colonels of Regiments; but the Precedent introduced by the Address, would be unconfined, it would extend to Generals, even the General in Chief; and therefore it must be agreed, that all those Arguments which, most justly, weighed so much with your Lordships as to make you reject the Bill, must militate more strongly against the Address proposed. Those Arguments have been already so clearly and fully stated, that I neither need to repeat, nor can I add to them, but shall only say, that as I was against the Bill, so I shall likewise be against the Address; and I cannot but believe, that every Lord who join'd with me in Opinion upon the former Question, will do me the Honour to join with me likewise in this.

Lord B——s. As to the particular Case now before us, if it be something new, it is not at all to be wondered at; because it is but lately that we have had a Standing-Army, and, even since we have had one, it has been but very seldom that any Gentleman has been removed from his Command in the Army, without so much as a Pretence for so doing, which is the Case now before us; there was not, I believe, so much as a Pretence for the Removals which have given Occasion for this Motion; there was, at least, no just Pretence that the Publick have ever yet heard of. But as to the Case in general, my Lords, it is neither new nor extraordinary; for it is well known, that this House has often addressed the King to know, who were his Advisers as to some particular Step that had been taken: This is what appears often upon the Journals of this House, and it is one of the chief Ends of our sitting here: We are his Majesty's great Council, and if his Majesty, or any of his Successors should ever, by wicked Counsellors, be prevailed on to do what is publicly and generally complained of, we are obliged, both in Honour

Honour and Duty, to enquire into the Affair, and to address his Majesty to lay before us the Reasons for his so doing, and to inform us who it was that advised him to take such Measures; that so the Measures, if right, may be justified, and, if wrong, that the Indignation of the People may be removed from the Throne, that their Resentment may fall, as it ought, upon those that advised such Measures, and that the evil Counsellors may meet with that Punishment which they deserve. This, my Lords, is really the Case now before us, a Measure has been taken which has raised a general Clamour, and we are the more concerned in it, because the two Officers removed are both Members of this House. I make no Doubt but that very sufficient Reasons have been shewn to his Majesty for removing them; but I have so good an Opinion of the two noble Lords, that I am convinced, the Reasons shewn to his Majesty for their Removal, are false, and were grounded only upon Misrepresentations.

'Tis true, my Lords, I was one of those Lords who voted for the Bill which your Lordships have rejected. I have as yet heard nothing that can make me alter my Opinion; and since it has been said that the same Arguments which prevailed with your Lordships to reject that Bill, must now prevail with you to reject this Motion, I shall beg Leave to take some Notice of those Arguments. I was, indeed, a little surprized to hear it said, that by the Bill the Officers of the Army were to acquire a Sort of Freehold in their Commissions. I believe your Lordships would not agree to take any particular Man's Freehold from him, even by an Act of Parliament, without giving him an Equivalent; but notwithstanding any Provision in the Bill, an Officer was to remain liable to have his Commission taken from him by an Address only, without any Cause assigned, or Equivalent given; nay, by breaking or reducing the Regiment, all the Officers of the Regiment, might have been turned out of their Commands by his Majesty's single Authority; which shews that the Bill would have given them no Manner of Freehold in their Commissions: It would in Reality, have given them no further Right to them than they have at present; for every Officer has now a Right to his Commission as long as he behaves well, and the Corp to which he belongs is kept entire; no Officer ought, or can, justly, be turned out of his Bread, as long as he behaves well; and all that was proposed by the Bill was, to subject the Behaviour of an Officer to the Judgment of a Court-martial, or a House of Parliament, instead of leaving it subject to the Judgment of Ministers of State or Court-Favourites: The Officers, therefore, if the Bill had passed, could not have ima-

gined, that they had any better Right to their Commissions or their Pay than they now have; and, consequently, there could never have been any more Danger or Difficulty in reducing the Whole, or any Part of the Army, than there is at present.

But, my Lords, supposing the Officers were to be rendered, as to the holding of their Commissions, entirely independent both of King and Parliament, surely; if any Danger were to be apprehended from them, in such a State, in Case they should unite against King and Parliament, under a General of their own chusing, the Parliament, and consequently the People, have much more to fear from them, in their present State, in Case some future King should make use of them for the Destruction of Parliaments, and for overturning the Liberties of the People; for certainly it would be much more easy for the Army to unite together under the King, who is their chief General by Law, than under any one of their own chusing, which very Choice would be a flying in the Face of the Law; and this Union would be the more easily effected by the King's having the Power he has at present of turning out and putting in whomsoever he pleases: The noble Lords who oppose this Motion, may talk of the Dependence of the Army upon Parliament; but if the Case be examined strictly, it will appear, that the Army has really no Dependence upon Parliament: The King indeed depends upon Parliament for a legal Power of keeping up a standing Army in Time of Peace, and for enabling him to pay them and discipline them according to Law; but if in any future Time the Parliament should think it necessary to reduce a Part of the Army, and of Consequence make no Provision for their Pay, the Resolution of Parliament could not break any one Regiment, or any Part of any one Regiment in the Kingdom; the Officers might all legally continue in their respective Commands, and if the King then upon the Throne should not think fit to break any of them, they might, indeed, then very probably think, that they had a good Right to their Pay as long as they continued in Commission; and if they could not get it by Law, they might probably join with the King in raising it contrary to Law, especially if he, foreseeing what would happen, had taken Care to model them for that Purpose, which any King might soon do, while the Army continues upon the Footing it is on at present; and for this Reason, my Lords, I must be of Opinion, that all those Arguments which have been used for shewing us the Danger of making an Army independent, are so many Arguments for shewing the Danger of our Army's being entirely dependent on one Branch only of our Legislature, and consequently are good Arguments for the Bill, which was

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designed to make the Army not entirely dependent on any one, but on all the three Branches of our Legislature.

As to the Submission and Obedience of inferior Officers to their Superiors, it is, my Lords, so strongly enforced by the martial Law, and it is so much the Interest of every Officer to see it punctually observed, that no Court-martial could, or would incline, either to avoid or defer giving Sentence, wherever any the least Crime of that Nature should appear; and as to Neglect of Duty, it is generally the other Officers of the Corp that suffer most by it, and therefore we may depend on it, that they would always take Care to see the Laws of War duly executed against all such negligent Persons; and in this we may believe they would be the more exact, the less dependent they were on Ministers of State, or Court-favourites; for it is well known in the Army, that those who are most frequently guilty of such Crimes, and meet with most Indulgence, are the Relations or Favourites of Ministers of State, or such as are supposed to have great Interest at Court; and therefore I think I have good Reason to presume, that this Bill would have greatly conduced to the Observance of the most exact military Discipline among all Degrees of Men in the Army,

I am surprized, my Lords, to hear it pretended, that the making of the Officers in some small Measure only independent of a Secretary at War, or other Minister of State, would tend towards the making Courts-martial connive at the Oppressions or Abuses that might be committed either by Officers or Soldiers, in the Places where they were quartered, or thro' which they happened to march; there is no Ground that I know of for such a Pretence; and as I never yet heard that any Officer was so much as suspended by the Secretary at War for such Practices, I must think that it is the Fear of Punishment from a Court-martial, that has hitherto kept both Officers and Soldiers pretty much within Bounds, in that Respect. It is certain, there is not the least Crime of this Nature, but what may be brought before a Court-martial and be punished by them: In such Cases a Court-martial, as well as the Secretary at War, may consider the general Character of the Offender, and may proportion the Punishment according to it; and I do not doubt, but that they would break any Officer in the Army, if upon Enquiry it should be found that he had often been guilty of oppressing the poor Country People upon whom he was quartered, or had been guilty of but one very heinous Crime of that Nature. But if any poor Country Inn-keeper or Victualler should be refused a proper Redress, by Means of a Tryal before a Court-martial, could not he easily have Access to some of the Lords of

this House, or to some of the Members of the other, who could represent his Case to Parliament, where he certainly would meet with a proper Redress, not only against the first Offender, but even against the Officers of the Court-martial who had refused him Justice, in the ordinary Way: Whereas if any Lord of this House, or any Member of the other, should now make any such Complaint, he would probably be told that his Complaint, was irregular; it ought first to have been made to the Secretary at War.

But, my Lords, we have been told, that if every Officer was to have his Commission *Quamdiu se bene gesserit*, their Interest in the Country, and their Numbers in Parliament, would be greater than it is at present, and consequently that they would have so much Influence in Parliament as to prevent the obtaining of an Address from either House, against any of the Officers. My Lords, that their natural Interest in the Country would be greater, and deservedly so, I do not doubt; but that their Number, or Influence in Parliament, would be greater, I very much question; for if they were to expect no private Advantages by their being in Parliament, they would not, I believe, be so very fond of being Members of either House; and if they had no Dependence upon the Court, with Respect to Elections, they would be upon the same Footing with other Gentlemen; whereas, while they have an entire Dependence on the Court, it is to be feared, that, in every Place where an Officer sets up as a Candidate against a Country Gentleman, the Officer will be supported by the Court, and the additional Interest he must have by his being so supported, will generally be greater than any additional Interest he could acquire by his having his Commission *Quamdiu se bene gesserit*: And thus I think it evident, that if the Bill had passed, the Number of Officers in Parliament would not have been so great, as it may probably be if they continue on the Footing they are on at present.

Now, as to their Influence in Parliament, is it to be supposed, that any Set of Men can ever unite so generally, or so firmly in any Cause, especially such a dishonourable Cause as that of screening a guilty Person? Is it, I say, to be supposed, that they will unite so firmly when there is no Band of Union among them, but that of their being of the same Profession, as they may be supposed to do, when there is not only that Band of Union, but this further Band, of every Man's Commission depending on his uniting with the rest under a ministerial Leader? This is the Influence, my Lords, that we are to be afraid of: It is not the Influence of the Officers only, even supposing them to join together; but it is when their Influence in Parliament

Parliament is not only directed by the Crown, but added to all the other Influences which the Crown may have, and must at all Times have in Parliament. It is by this Union of Influences that our Constitution may be overturned; and this is the Danger which by the Bill was proposed, in Part at least, to be obviated.

It is well known that a Dependence upon the Crown is a Dependence upon the Minister; and if ever such a Dependence should come to be absolute, it is to be feared that the military Sword may come to move always according to the Directions of the ministerial Sword, that hangs over it; and that the Votes of those Officers, who may hereafter happen to be Members of either House, may be generally directed by the Minister, upon whom their Commissions depend. It is to be feared, my Lords, that Preferment or Disgrace in the Army may come to depend, not upon military Virtues, or military Crimes, but upon Obedience or Disobedience to the most unjust Commands of a Prime Minister: This is what, I think, ought to be prevented, if possible. I will admit, nay, I desire, that the Paths of Preferment may be made like the Paths of Virtue: Let them be rough and rugged, but, for God's Sake, my Lords, do not let us allow them to be miry and dirty.

There is, my Lords, a very great Difference between the Motion now before us, and the Bill your Lordships have been pleased to reject: By the Address moved for, it cannot so much as be pretended, that there is any Attack made upon the Prerogative, or that the Power of the King over the Army is to be any way touched; nor can it justly be said, that this would lay a Precedent for addressing the King on every Occasion, when his Majesty, or any of his Successors, should think proper to remove an Officer; there can never be a Precedent pretended from the Address now proposed, but when such Removes may occasion a general Discontent and Murmur in the Nation; and in such Case, I hope, your Lordships will all grant, that such a Precedent would be of great Use; and that it is the Duty of this House to address on all such Occasions; for in such Cases it will always be of great Service to the King, because it will afford him an Opportunity of satisfying the Publick that what he did was right, or of doing Justice to those who had suffered by Calumnies and Misrepresentations; and therefore I make no Doubt, but that many of those Lords who voted against the Bill, will join with me in voting for this Address.

The E—l of *Cb*———y, among other Things, said: I cannot, my Lords, believe, that the Complaints against the removing of the two noble Lords are so great or so ge-

neral as some Lords have represented; for in all the Companies I have ever been in since those two noble Lords were removed, I have not heard so much as one Complaint against it; and as the Generality of those Complaints is the principal Reason given for agreeing to the Address proposed, I must therefore be of Opinion, that there is no Occasion for any such Address. Then

The E—l of *Ab*———n, among other Things, spoke thus: My Lords, a very good Reason may be given why the noble Lord, who spoke last, has heard no Complaint against the Removal of the two noble Lords. It would not perhaps be very polite; not even good Manners, in his Lordship's Company, to find Fault with those Removals, or with any other Measure lately taken; but if every Lord who has heard a Complaint against that Measure in particular, shall give his Vote for the Address, I believe it is not difficult to determine the Fate of the Question.

The E—l of *A*———le. I did not before, my Lords, give the House any Trouble, or offer to give my Reasons against the Bill, because as I thought it a very new and extraordinary Thing. I thought that the Lords who appeared for it, ought to have given their Reasons for being so, before it could be expected that any Lord should give his Reasons for being against it; for it was always the Custom of this House, that when any Thing new is proposed, the Lords who are for it give their Reasons, and all that the other Lords have to do, is to shew that those Reasons are not sufficient for prevailing with the House to agree to what is proposed. In the present Case, I did indeed hear a very handsome Speech made in Favour of the Bill presented to us; a great many pretty Things were indeed said in its Favour, but in all, I could not observe any real Argument for inducing us to make such an Alteration in our Constitution, as was proposed.

I hope, my Lords, there are no Gentlemen in the Army, that ever were, or ever can be prevailed on, either to act or speak contrary to their Conscience, by the Fears of being turned out of their Commissions; I hope there never will be any such in our Army; but if there are now, or ever shall be, any such abandoned Men in our Army, I am sure, there was nothing proposed by the Bill, that could have had any Effect as to such Men; for with all those Men, who are ready to sacrifice their Honour and Conscience to their private Interest, the Hopes of Preferment, or of a more lucrative Post, will always be as prevailing an Argument, as the Fears of losing what they have. I am persuaded, there is not a Man in the Nation, who would sacrifice his Honour and Conscience, rather than lose 1000*l.* a Year, which he enjoys, but

would do the same, if he expected thereby to add but one single Hundred a Year to his former Revenue; and therefore, in the only Case, in which it can be supposed the Bill was necessary, it is plain it could have had no Effect.

If I had spoke against the Bill, I should have differed, as to some Facts, from those noble Lords who spoke for it. It is very true, that there have formerly been Removes in the Army, but it is certain likewise, that many of those, who were removed, had no Seats in Parliament; and therefore it cannot properly be said, that the Behaviour of Gentlemen in Parliament was ever the Cause of their being removed from their Commands. However, I shall say no more as to the Bill, which, in my Opinion, has been justly rejected.

But, my Lords, as to the Address proposed, I really think it worse than the Bill itself: It is certainly as great an Attack upon the Prerogative, as the Bill was; for what signifies a Prerogative, if the King is never to make use of it, without being obliged to give an Account of his Reasons to either House of Parliament, that shall please to call for such an Account? The Address, therefore, is as great an Attack upon the Prerogative, and it is a much more direct Attack upon his present Majesty's Conduct, I am surpris'd, my Lords, to hear such a Noise about the Removal of two noble Lords. It is true, there have been two Lords removed, but there has been but one Soldier removed; and therefore, when Lords talk of Soldiers having been turned out of their Commissions, they ought not to talk in the plural Number. Since then his Majesty has removed but one Soldier, I can see no Reason for pretending, in some Manner at least, to call him to an Account, by desiring him to lay his Reasons before either House of Parliament; It is what was never offer'd to any of his Predecessors, even when Numbers of Officers were removed at a Time. There was no such Address proposed, in a late Reign, when many Officers were at once turned out; Officers, who were so far from having been guilty of any Crime, or Neglect of Duty, that some of them were but just returned from Victory. It must therefore be granted, that what is now proposed is without Precedent in either House, and for that Reason I am against agreeing to the Motion.

E—l of A—y. I voted, my Lords, for the Bill, which your Lordships have rejected; and I voted for it, because I heard, what I thought, very strong and convincing Arguments offer'd for it, and not the least Shew of an Argument have I yet heard against it. What the noble Duke took Notice of, was a very good Argument for offering an Amendment to the Bill, but no Argument against the Bill, and much less against the second Reading of it. It is certain, that Men are

sometimes guided by their Hopes, as well as by their Fears; but, surely, when the Hopes of Preferment, and the Fears of Starving, are put together in the Scale against Virtue and Conscience, they will, jointly, weigh more heavily, than either of them separately. I cannot allow, that every Man, who may be governed in his Way of acting and speaking, by the Fear of Starving, will likewise be directed by the Hopes of Preferment, or of a more lucrative Post; for he must have a small Share of Virtue, and a very great Share of Ambition or Covetousness, who is directed to act against his Conscience, by the single Hopes of Preferment, or of a more lucrative Employment; and it must be granted, there are many Men, who have so little Ambition or Covetousness, that if they are but made sure of a moderate Support for Life, the Hopes of Preferment, or of adding to their yearly Income, will have so little Effect upon them, that, with even but a small Share of Virtue, they may hold out against the most alluring Hopes: But it must be allowed, that the Man, who stands his Ground against the Fears of being reduced to a starving Condition, as well as against the Hopes of Preferment, and adding to his yearly Income, must have a very great Share of Virtue; a greater, I am afraid, than most Men can brag of in this degenerate Age. As for those who are quite abandoned, and governed entirely by their own selfish Ends, I believe it is not possible to make them honest or virtuous, but surely there are Degrees both of Vice and Virtue; all Men are not equally vicious, and if we could, by the Bill's being pass'd into a Law, but have preserv'd the Virtue of some, it would have been worth our while; we could afterwards have amend'd it, if we had found what was done not sufficient.

As to the Address now proposed, I cannot see, my Lords, how an humble Address from either House can be deemed an Attack upon the Prerogative. His Majesty, or any of his Successors, may make what Use they please of any of the Prerogatives of the Crown; but if ever any bad Use shall be made of any of them, the Parliament has a Right, nay, it is their Duty, to enquire into it, and to desire his Majesty to acquaint them, who advis'd him to take such a Step. This has always been the Practice of Parliament, as to every Prerogative that was ever claim'd by the Crown: This is the very Case now before us: His Majesty has made Use of his Prerogative in removing two noble Lords from their Commands in the Army: These Removals have occasion'd a most universal Complaint thro' the Nation, because it is generally believed, that there were no sufficient, or good Reasons for removing them; and as it is the Duty of this House to take Care, that his Majesty shall not, by any Step he may be advis'd to take, incur the general Censure of the People, there-

therefore this general Complaint is a most sufficient Foundation for the Address proposed: His Majesty's Conduct is no Way concerned in the Question, it is only the Conduct of those who advised him; if they advised him well, they will be justified by what is now proposed; if they advised him ill, they certainly deserve at least the Censure of this House; but to tell us that his Majesty's Conduct is, or can be concern'd, in any such Question, is directly to tell us, that the Parliament of Great Britain shall never enquire into any Thing that their King shall be pleased by the Advice of his Ministers to do.

As to the Number of those who have been removed, it is of no Signification in the present Question; the Cause of Removal is what your Lordships are to enquire into; for if those two noble Lords were removed only as an Example to others, one Example may serve to keep Hundreds in awe; and if that Example was made, only to serve a ministerial End, it may be of the most fatal Consequence to our Constitution. For this Reason I shall be for the Address. The Motion may perhaps be rejected by a Majority; but if it be, the whole World will be convinced, that those two noble Lords were removed for no Cause, at least for no Cause that can well be publicly avowed.

The Duke of M—se spoke next, and after him my Lord G—er, both for the Motion; after which the Question was put, and carried in the Negative, upon a Division 77 not Contents, to 48 Contents, no Proxies having been called for. (See the PROTESTS on this Occasion, in our Magazine for April, p. 169, 170.)

DEBATE on the Bill for limiting the Number of Place-Men in the House of Commons.

ON Feb. 15. the House of Commons ordered, That Leave be given to bring in a Bill for securing the Freedom of Parliament, by limiting the Number of Officers in the House of Commons; and that Mr. Sandys, Mr. Wortley, and Mr. Cholmondeley, do prepare and bring in the same. Which Bill was presented to the House by Mr. Sandys, on the 19th of Feb. was then read, as usual, a first Time, and was ordered to be read a second Time on that Day Seven-night. Accordingly, on the 26th, the said Bill was read a second Time, and Mr. S—ys then moved for its being committed, whereupon a Debate ensued. W—m H—y, Esq; chosen that Session for S—d in Suffex, was the first who spoke against it; and after him,

J—n C—ll, Esq; Knight for P—ke-shire, stood up and spoke as follows, viz. In my Opinion, Sir, the Bill now before us, is one of the most extraordinary and most unreasonable Bills I have ever seen, since I have had the Honour to sit in this House. It is, I

think, Sir, not only unreasonable, but in several Respects unjust: For as to the Electors, the People of Great Britain, it is certain, that they are the best Judges, and indeed the only proper Judges, who are the most proper Persons, to represent them in Parliament; and for us to pretend, by a Law, to lay a Restraint upon them in their Choice, is certainly doing them a great Piece of Injustice. If the Electors of any Shire, City, or Borough, make Choice of a Gentleman to represent them, who has a Post in the Government, that very Choice is a sufficient Proof that they do not think the Service of the Country in Parliament, and the Service of the Crown incompatible; and the Law has already wisely provided, that in Case any Gentleman accepts of a Place in the Government, after he has been chosen a Member of Parliament, his Seat in Parliament shall thereby be vacated; he must return to his County, City, or Borough, to be rechosen; and if they again chuse him, it is a certain Sign, that they continue to think him the most proper Person to represent them, notwithstanding his having accepted of a Place under the Crown.

Then, Sir, as to the Gentlemen who are now, or may hereafter be in Offices, Civil or Military, under the Crown, it is certain, that they generally are Gentlemen of Families, and many of them have very large Properties in their Country. Have not they therefore as good a Right to stand Candidates for Members of Parliament, as any of those Gentlemen who are out of Employment? And if the People chuse them, why should we, by a Law, deprive them of that Honour which the People have thought fit to confer upon them? Is it not robbing them of a Part, at least, of those Rights which they have a just Title to as Englishmen, or as Free Britons?

By this Bill, Sir, I must likewise think, that there is a very great Piece of Injustice done to the Crown; I cannot but think it a very extraordinary Thing to put such a Mark of Disgrace upon all the Officers employed by the Crown, as to exclude them from the Right of having Seats in Parliament, and that for no other Reason, but because the King has thought them worthy of serving their Country in some Office, civil or military, under him. It is, really, not only putting an Affront upon his present Majesty, but doing an Injustice to all his Successors: It is putting an Affront upon the Crown itself, and rendering it impossible for our Government to subsist under its present Form; for if such an Ignominy shall be put upon all those, who shall accept of any Employment under the Crown, as to render them incapable of serving their Country in Parliament, which is one of the highest Honours a Gentleman

can have in this Country; what Gentleman of Family or Fortune, of Honour or Capacity, will accept of any Employment under the Crown? And thus, by rendering it impossible for the King to get any such Man to serve under him, you will render it impossible for our Government or Constitution to subsist under its present monarchical Form.

Should, Sir, the Bill now before us pass into a Law, I think it is easy to foresee the Consequences. It would bring the House of Commons into the highest Contempt, or it would bring all those Gentlemen, who accepted of any Office in the Government, under Contempt. It is natural for every Man to endeavour to render contemptible that Honour, that Post, or that Thing, which he knows he cannot attain to: The Gentlemen of the Army, of the Navy, and in civil Offices, knowing, that by Law they were all excluded from the Honour of having Seats in the House of Commons, would all join together in endeavouring to render it contemptible in the Eyes of the People; and we need not doubt, but that the Clergy would join with the rest, because, I think, they are already excluded from this House: On the other Hand, the Gentlemen of the House of Commons, and those who might continue to be eligible into this House, would endeavour to support the Honour of this House, by endeavouring to render contemptible all those, who accepted of any Post in the Government, either in Church or State. Is it not much to be feared, is it not rather certain, that such an unnatural Division as this might prove fatal to the Constitution? For the Success of either Party would overturn our present Form of Government.

I will not say, Sir, but that Country Gentlemen are very proper Representatives of the People, and I believe the Majority of this House will always consist of such; but it is for the Service of this House, it is even necessary for dispatching the Business that properly comes before it, to have likewise some of those Gentlemen among us, who belong to, and are acquainted with the Manner of transacting Business in the several great Offices under the Government. Every Gentleman, who has been but a short Time in this House, and has attended to the several Sorts of Business that have come before us, and the several Sorts of Papers and Accounts, we have, from Time to Time, found necessary to call for, must have taken Notice, that the House would have been sometimes greatly bewildered, if we had not had some Gentlemen among us belonging to the publick Offices, capable of explaining the Matters, which we then had under our Consideration; which must convince every Man of the Necessity of having some such Gentlemen always amongst us.

If, indeed, there were Reason to suspect,

that Gentlemen in Offices, who have Seats in Parliament, were, by their enjoying such Offices, any way influenced in their Way of acting or speaking in this House, it might then be necessary to contrive some Way of preventing that Influence for the future; but as I am convinced, that a Man's being in an Office, does not in the least influence his Way of thinking, or his Manner of acting, in this House, I therefore think we have no Occasion for contriving any such Remedies at present, and far less any Occasion for such an extraordinary Remedy as is proposed by the Bill, for which Reason I am against committing it.

S———/S———ys, Esq; As this Bill, Sir, met with no Opposition, either when it was moved for, or brought in and read the first Time, I was little apprehensive, we should have had any Debate upon it, and much less, that our going into a Committee upon it would have been opposed; for as yet it can be called little more than a Blank; it cannot well deserve the Name of a Bill, till it has gone thro' the Committee, where the many Blanks now in it, are properly to be filled up. I was, indeed, surprized, Sir, to hear the worthy Gentleman who spoke last, say, that he thought it the most extraordinary and unreasonable Bill he had ever seen brought into this House; for if the Gentleman will look into our Journals, he will see that this very Bill has been often brought in, and has almost always been passed in this House; and I am sure, Sir, if ever it was thought reasonable by this House, it must now be thought much more so, when the Number of Place-men, who have Seats in Parliament, is much greater than it ever was at any Time heretofore.

The worthy Gentleman has likewise told us, that he thinks the Bill unjust, both with Respect to the Crown, the People, and the Gentlemen who are employed by the Crown; as to which, I shall take Notice in general, that, by the same Method of Reasoning, he may pretend to shew us, that all the Laws that were ever made for regulating Elections were unjust, and Incroachments upon the Rights of the People. I shall readily agree with him, that the People are the properest Judges, who ought to be chosen by them for their Representatives; and I am confident, that were they left to a free Choice, we should not see so many civil and military Officers brought into Parliament. The People, I believe, would always think themselves more secure in being represented by Country Gentlemen, with whom they are well acquainted, and who can have no Interest separate from them, than by Clerks of Offices, or such other Persons, whom they perhaps never saw or heard of before they came down to be chosen their Representatives, and whom,

probably, they may never see again, till they return to ask the same Favour; which every Gentleman here knows to be often the Case of many of our little Boroughs.

But, Sir, to say, it would be any Injustice in us, to lay any Restraint upon the People, as to the Choice of their Representatives, seems to me very extraordinary, when we consider the Law now in Being, by which the People are restrained from chusing any Gentleman, who is not possessed of such an Estate. Surely, Sir, we may, with Respect to Elections, without being guilty of any Injustice, lay what Restraints we think necessary for the Good of the Publick, and the Preservation of our Constitution: Whenever any such Restraint is necessary, it ought to be laid on, because it is for the Benefit of the People; and I am sure, that whatever is for the Benefit of the People, cannot be justly said to be injurious to the Crown. It is extraordinary to say, that what is proposed by this Bill would be an Injustice done to those who are thereby to be made incapable of being elected; for have not we already a Law, by which all the Officers concerned in the Collection of the Customs or Excise are rendered incapable of being chosen Members of Parliament? And yet I have never before heard it urged, that there was any Injustice done to those Gentlemen, by excluding them from Seats in Parliament, as long as they are in an Office inconsistent with their being Members of this House. I will allow that the Choice made by the Burgesses of a little Borough, or by the Free-holders of a County, if it falls upon an Officer, civil or military, shews that the Majority of those Electors at that Time did not think the Office he then enjoyed incompatible or inconsistent with his being their Representative; but I hope it will not be said, that the Burgesses of a little Borough, or even the Free-holders of a County, are better Judges in this Respect than the Representatives of the whole People of Great Britain, especially when the Opinion of this House is approved of and confirmed by the other two Branches of our Legislature.

As to the Alternative pretended, that if this Bill should pass into a Law, it would render either the Officers civil and military contemptible, or this House contemptible in the Eyes of the People; I cannot imagine how it could produce either of these Effects; for as to the Officers, is it to be imagined, that a successful General or Admiral, that a brave and experienced Captain, by Sea or Land, or a civil Officer, honest, expert, and diligent, in the Station he is in, would be contemned, because he was not capable of being a Member of this House? Were the Clergy ever brought into Contempt, by their being excluded the Privilege of being chosen Members of Parliament? Upon the contrary, I

believe, they never got any Honour by being Members of either House; and, I believe, there are very few Officers, either civil or military, in the Kingdom, who ever gained much Honour, or Repute, among the People, by their being Members of either House of Parliament, unless when their being such was the Occasion of their being turned out of the Offices they enjoyed, and might have continued to enjoy, both to their own Honour, and the Advantage of their Country, if they had not been Members of Parliament.

As to the other Part of the Alternative, that this House may be rendered contemptible by what is now proposed, I am, Sir, not in the least afraid of it; but I am very much afraid, that if some Bill of this Nature is not passed into a Law, and that very speedily too, this House will become contemptible in the Eyes not only of our own People, but of the whole World. Gentlemen may pretend, that no Man is influenced in his Way of thinking, or Manner of acting, in this House, by the Post or Office he possesses, and may be turned out of, whenever a Prime Minister may have a Mind; but while Men are Men, I am convinced, there will always be a great Number, by far, I fear, the greatest, who will rather vote according to the Directions of the Prime Minister for the Time being, than run the Risk of being turned out of the lucrative Post he then holds at the Pleasure of the Crown; and if ever a Majority of this House should happen to be composed of such Men, it will become as contemptible as ever the Senate of Rome was, after it became the political Tool of their arbitrary and tyrannical Emperors.

I will likewise agree with the Hon. Gentleman, that it may be necessary, at least, convenient for this House, always to have in it some of those Gentlemen who belong to, and are conversant in the Methods of transacting Business in the several great Offices of the Kingdom; and therefore I am not for excluding all those who are in Offices civil or military; I believe no Gentleman in this House ever had any such Thought; and if Gentlemen will but peruse the Bill as it stands now, they will see, that there is to be an Exception, which is now left blank, as in all such Cases is usual; in order that when we go into a Committee upon the Bill, Gentlemen may then propose the filling up in that Blank as many Officers, or Sorts of Officers, as they have a Mind. About this, indeed, I expected there might have been some Debates; but considering the great Number of Officers of all Sorts now in the House, considering how greatly that Number may be increased in Times to come, considering the great Clamour already raised in the Nation against so many Officers being in the House of Commons, I really did not expect, that any

any Gentleman would have opposed the committing of the Bill, or would have pretended, that the passing of some such Bill was not now become necessary, both for the Honour of this House, and the Safety of our Constitution.

To conclude, Sir, the Bill is at present but a Blank, but I am confident, it may be made a good, and a reasonable Bill, and agreeable to every Gentleman in this House; and therefore I hope the House will agree to the going into a Committee upon it, because if Gentlemen do not like it after the Blanks are filled up, they may then drop it, or throw it out upon the third Reading.

E——d T——mp——n, Esq; Member for *T——k City*. Sir, if we do resolve to go into a Committee on the Bill, which I hope we shall not, I must take the Liberty to move for an Instruction to receive a Clause for excluding all those from Seats in Parliament, who have asked for any Place or Employment, or any other Favour, from the Government, and have been refused what they asked for; because I am persuaded, that Anger, Revenge, and Disappointment, may influence Men's Actions; and even their Behaviour in this House, as much as the Hopes of getting a Place, or the Fears of losing one, can possibly do; and therefore I think it fully as reasonable to exclude the former, as it is to exclude the latter.

If it can be supposed, Sir, that the Hopes of getting a Place, or the Fears of losing one, can influence some Men so much, as to make them approve of all the Measures of the Government, and agree with every Thing proposed by those in the Administration, right or wrong, I am sure it may be supposed, that the Passions of Revenge and Disappointment may likewise influence some Men so much, as to make them find Fault where there is none, and to oppose whatever is proposed by the Government, even when they are in their own Consciences convinced, that what is proposed is right, and necessary for the Support of our Government and Constitution; but for my own Part, Sir, I can make no such Supposition; I cannot suppose, that the being in a Place under the Government is inconsistent with common Honour and Honesty; nor can I suppose, that any Man would, for the Sake of satisfying his Malice or Revenge, oppose any Thing, that he saw was necessary for preserving or improving the Happiness of his Country; and I would gladly ask those Gentlemen, who have formerly been in Places under the Government, and happen now to be out, if they looked upon themselves as less honest, when they were in Place, than they are now when they are out.

As the Bill appears to me, Sir, to be a total Exclusion of all Officers, civil and military, from having Seats in this House, I would really

advise those Gentlemen, who now seem so fond of it, to be a little cautious in passing such a Bill; for if that which they have so long struggled to come at, be so near at Hand, as some People have been pleased to give out Without doors, the Passing of such a Bill may soon affect a great many of themselves; They may then, perhaps, think of the Bill as I now think of it; and I must declare, that I can by no Means agree to the Committing of it, because I think it impossible to make it a good Bill.

The Hon. *E——d D——y*, Esq; I differ, Sir, so far, in my Opinion about the Bill now before us, from the Hon. Gentleman who spoke last, that I think it is not possible to make it a bad Bill. It is a Bill that has often passed thro' this House, and I am sure it was never more necessary for securing the Freedom and Independency of Parliaments than at present. I am afraid, Sir, that even the Transactions of this Day may be a convincing Proof of the great Necessity there is for having some such Bill passed; or rather they will be a melancholy Proof of its being already impossible ever to get such a Bill passed.

It is certain, Sir, that the Preservation of our Constitution depends upon preserving a just Balance between the several Powers of which it is composed; for if ever the Scale should be so much turned, as to destroy that Balance, our Constitution will from that Moment be at an End: And it is certain, that the many penal Laws enacted since the Revolution, the many Taxes laid on and still continued, and the great Number of Officers that are necessary for the collecting of those Taxes, have thrown a great and a dangerous Power into the Hands of the Crown; such a Power as, it is greatly to be feared, may enable the Crown to swallow up the two other Branches of our Legislature, by making them entirely dependent on the Crown, if ever those employed by the Crown should be wicked enough to make such a cruel Use of the Power they have got into their Hands: I will not say, Sir, that ever such a Use, or any wicked Use, has as yet been made of the great Power which the Crown has lately acquired; but there is no Doubt but that such a Use may be made of it: Some future Minister may arise, who may make an absolute and a blind Obedience to his Commands, both as to voting and speaking in either House of Parliament, and as to voting at Elections for Members of this House, the only Tenure by which Gentlemen in Office can hope to continue in their respective Offices, and the only Merit which can entitle a Man to Preferment either in Church or State; and if this should ever happen to be the Case, I must leave it to every Gentleman that hears me to consider, whether our Constitution would not then be in the most imminent Danger: Shall we then, who are the Guardians

of the People's Liberties, neglect or refuse to provide proper Fences against that Power, which may, some Time or other, be made use of for breaking down all those Fences which now serve to protect and defend the Liberties and Properties of the People?

We all know, Sir, that the Service of the Crown and the Service of the People ought always to be the same; that the Crown ought never to ask any Thing but what is for the Service of the People, and that the People ought never to refuse what is necessary for the Support of the Crown, and for their own Defence; but, Sir, we likewise know, that the Service of the Crown and the Service of the People have not been always the same; we know that the Crown has sometimes been the People's most dangerous Enemy, and the People may, perhaps, have sometimes refused what was necessary for the Support of the Crown, and for their own Defence: What has happened may happen again; but as long as the Parliament continues pure and uncorrupted, they will always be proper Mediators between the Crown and the People; whereas, if both Houses should ever come to be entirely dependent on the Crown, and ready to follow blindly whatever Instructions they may receive from the Ministers of the Crown, could it then be said, that the Parliament would be proper Mediators between the Crown and the People? Could it be expected, that the Parliament would ever put a Check upon the most arbitrary Demands of the Crown, or that they would ever have Weight enough with the People to prevail with them to comply willingly with the most necessary Demands of the Crown?

This, Sir, is a Case that is certainly to be apprehended by all those who have any Regard for our present happy Constitution; and as the Number of Officers in the Service of the Crown is daily increasing in this House, I think it high Time to put a Stop to it; for the Disease may, I am afraid, very soon become incurable. That some dangerous Practices have formerly been attempted by the Ministers upon the Members of this House, cannot be denied, since an Hon. Gentleman of great Worth, and of great Distinction in the Army, has but lately, in a former Debate, told us, that even he himself was threatened, for daring to give his Vote against one of the most destructive ministerial Schemes that was ever brought into Parliament; (see p. 357.) and tho' he had Virtue and Courage enough to despise such Threats, yet it is probable, that many were brought over by such, or the like Arguments; because that Scheme, destructive as it was, got the Sanction of a British Act of Parliament, an Act, which, for its many fatal and iniquitous Effects, will for ever make a considerable Era in the Annals of this Nation.

But I need not enlarge, Sir, upon the Necessity of our having some such Law as is proposed, the Thing speaks itself; the Independence of our Parliaments is certainly our greatest Security; and if we cannot render them altogether independent, the more they are so, the greater our Security, or rather, the less our Danger will be; and therefore I am for our going into the Committee moved for.

T—s W—nn—t—n, Esq; This Bill, Sir, has, 'tis true, been often proposed, and has sometimes passed in this House, but it has likewise been sometimes rejected; so that if there is any Argument in this, it is equally strong on both Sides; and as it has been often proposed, and never yet has passed into a Law, it is a certain Proof, that it has never yet been thought reasonable: Indeed, if we look into the History of it, we shall find, it has at all Times been brought in and supported by those who were at those several Times endeavouring to distress the Government.

I will likewise agree with the Hon. Gentleman who spoke last, that it is necessary to keep a Balance between the three Branches of the Legislature; but I cannot agree with him in saying, that that Balance is now in any Danger of being destroyed: I hope it never will; I am sure it never was in less Danger than at present; and I am persuaded, that if the Government should ever attempt any Thing against the Liberties of the People, they would find no such servile Dependence or blind Obedience among the Gentlemen in Office as has been talk'd of: Many of those are, and, I believe, always must be, Gentlemen of good Families, and possess'd of considerable Estates of their own; they may not perhaps be very ready to join with any Set of Men to distress that Government they serve; but if they should observe that Government incroaching upon the Liberties of the People, they would then, without Doubt, shew some Regard to the Families they were come of, and the Preservation of their own private Fortunes, and would rather throw up the Posts they enjoyed under the Crown, than join with it in overturning the Laws and Constitution of their Country.

As there may be Danger, Sir, in throwing too much Power into the Hands of the Crown, so, I hope, it will be granted, that the Hands of the Crown may be so much weakened, as to render it impossible for it to support itself, and administer the publick Affairs of the Nation, as they ought to be; and this last would, I am convinced, be the Case, if this Bill should pass into a Law; for as it certainly contains a total Exclusion of all Officers, civil and military, where must the Crown go to find Persons to fill up those Employments, as they shall become vacant? Gentlemen of Figure or Fortune in their Country would

would not certainly accept of any of them, were they thereby to be branded with such a Mark of Infamy, as to be rendered incapable of serving their Country in Parliament; so that the Crown would be obliged to go among the very Dregs of the People, to find out Persons who would accept of any Office under it; and thus, in a short Time, we should have all our Offices and Employments filled with Creatures of no Family or Fortune: And if all our civil Employments, but especially our military ones, should come into such Hands, I would gladly know, from the Gentlemen who seem so fond of this Bill, if they would think the Constitution safe under such an Administration.

This, Sir, I take to be a very strong Argument against the Bill, and I cannot see any one Argument for it; I can see no Reason, why a Gentleman, only because he is in Employment under the Crown, should be deprived of his Birth-right, by being disqualified from sitting in Parliament. It is certain, the People at present do not think so, otherwise they would not chuse so many of those Gentlemen, as they do; and I must think, that it would be a very great Encroachment on the Rights of the People, to dictate to them in their Choice, and to tell them, you shall chuse only such or such Persons for your Representatives. The Laws, as they stand now, have, I think, provided sufficiently in this Respect; if any Gentleman accepts of an Employment under the Crown, he is sent down to be re-chosen, and if the People think him thereby disqualified, they may refuse chusing him again; but the many Instances, which have even lately occurred, of Gentlemen being re-elected on such Occasions, is with me a full Proof, that the People do not think any Gentleman disqualified for being their Representative, by his having accepted of an Office or Employment under the Crown.

As for the *South-Sea* Scheme, which the Hon. Gentleman mention'd, however destructive it was, it is certain, it is not to be laid to the Charge of the Crown, or of the Ministry even at that Time: We all know how, and by what Methods, it was carried thro' Parliament: We know, that, when the Enquiry came to be made, it appeared, that those Directors, who were let into the Secret, and entrusted with the Management of that Scheme in Parliament, were Men of all Denominations and Complexions; and Subscriptions were given to Members of as different Denominations and Complexions; by which there were, I believe, many more brought in to support that Scheme, than were brought in by any ministerial Influence: But whatever may be in that, it is well known, that the Ministers that now are, were strenuous Opposers of that Scheme; so that no Argument

can be drawn from thence, for or against any Thing that is now proposed.

Sir *W—m W—nd—m*. As it has always been my Opinion, Sir, that every Man, who is in a Place or Office under the Government, is not therefore necessarily to be supposed to be under any slavish Influence as to his Behaviour in this House, I have formerly opposed Bills of this Sort; and if this Bill, when it may properly be called one, does appear to be the same with those which I have formerly opposed, as I have not yet altered my Opinion, I shall oppose this likewise; but the worthy Gentleman, who brought in this Bill, has already, in Conversation, shewed me a good deal of Difference between what is now designed, and the Bills I have formerly opposed; for which Reason I shall be for going into a Committee upon it, because no Man can well say any Thing, either for or against the Bill, as it now stands, it being really nothing but a Blank; but when it has gone thro' the Committee; when the Blanks are all filled up, and the Bill brought into such a Shape, as to enable one to form some Sort of Judgment about it, I can then easily determine, what further I am to do; and if it be not then made very different from the Bills I have formerly opposed, which were brought into this House under the same Title, I shall in this, as, I hope, I have on all other Occasions, act consistently with myself, and oppose the Bill's being carried any Step further.

At the same Time, Sir, I must take Notice, that the Necessity for some such Bill is much greater now than formerly: Parliaments are now of a much longer Continuance, and a more intimate Acquaintance and close Correspondence between the Crown and a Parliament, may be contracted in a Course of 7 Years, than could possibly have happened in a Course of 3 Years only. This is a Novelty, and a most dangerous Novelty, which has been lately introduced; and when such Novelties are introduced into our Constitution, if they can't be shaken off, Laws which were formerly thought unnecessary and unreasonable, may then become both reasonable and necessary; and Gentlemen who formerly opposed them, may then think themselves obliged, both in Honour and Duty, to support and promote them to the utmost of their Power.

As the Bill, Sir, is now but a Blank, we argue in the Dark upon it, but if I have been rightly informed, there never was the least Design of excluding all Officers, civil and military; on the contrary, the great Officers of State, the Commissioners of the Treasury, Admiralty, Trade, and many others in such Offices are to be excepted: None of them are designed to be excluded, nor indeed ought they, because they are generally such, who by their Families and For-

tunes.

tunes have a natural Interest in the Country, and may be chosen Members of Parliament without any Assistance from the Board to which they belong. Such Gentlemen may reasonably be supposed to be independent of the Board, or even of any Minister of State; but the same cannot be said of all the other little Officers belonging to those Boards, or to any other Office under the Government; if such little Officers should ever be brought into Parliament, it must be by the unnatural Interest of the Board or Office to which they belong; and as they will then be entirely dependent on such Board or Office, not only for their Seats in Parliament, but likewise for their daily Bread, we cannot suppose that their Behaviour in this House will be absolutely free from ministerial Influence; therefore I must think that it may be very proper to exclude all such from being brought into Parliament; for 'tho' it may be necessary to allow a Secretary of State, or any such great Officer, a Seat in this House, yet it is not at all necessary he should come here with his Clerks, and the whole Equipage of his Office.

'Tho' the Hon. Gentleman who spoke last seemed to think, that no Argument could be drawn from the Success of the late fatal South Sea Scheme, yet I think he, from thence, gave us a very strong Argument for some such Bill as this, when he told us, that Gentlemen of all Denominations and Complexions were drawn in to support that Scheme, by Means of the Subscriptions that were

given them; for does not that, Sir, shew that Men of all Denominations and Complexions are apt to have their Inclinations by-assed, and even their Understandings blinded, in favour of that publick Measure from which they expect to draw a private Advantage? Is not this, Sir, one of the strongest Arguments that can be given for us to take all possible Care, that no Member of this House shall ever have any private Advantage to expect, or private Loss to fear, from his voting of either Side of any Question? And is not this, Sir, a most unanswerable Argument for our agreeing to exclude those from Seats in this House, who may have the whole, or at least the principal Part of their daily Subsistence depending upon their way of voting or behaving, as Members of this House? However, Sir, it is impossible to argue with any Certainty, either for or against the Bill, as it now stands; if the Bill, after it has passed thro' the Committee, shall appear to be an unreasonable or an unnecessary Bill, we may easily prevent its going any further; and therefore I must say, that I can see no Reason for Gentlemens opposing our going into a Committee upon it, unless it be that they are afraid lest it may be there made so good and so reasonable a Bill, that they cannot then, with any Confidence, oppose its being passed into a Law.

[The rest of this Debate, and the other Proceedings in Parliament to be continued, in our next.]

A View of the Weekly ESSAYS and DISPUTES in this Month.

Grubstreet Journal, Aug. 1. N^o 240.

A very extraordinary WILL.

IT is not a very uncommon Thing, for People in their last Wills to treat Death in a very unconcerned and merry Manner. One Gentleman, after enumerating a great many Obligations he had to a Friend, bequeaths him ten thousand ——— Thanks. Another, who was a covetous old Fellow, and wanted to have his Will drawn with Accuracy, without paying for it, contrived the following Expedient. He sent for a very eminent Lawyer, and having given the necessary Instructions, desired him, with a great many Expressions of Esteem, to put in an Articles of 100l. for himself. When the Will was finished, a Fee was offered, but refused, as may be easily guessed. In short, the Lawyer's Back was no sooner turned, than the Will was new copied over, and the 100l. Legacy left out. And this sly Trick put upon

E one of the long Robe, has made the whole Order ever since observe it as an inviolable Maxim, never to refuse a Fee on the like Occasion, from the nearest Friend or Relation in the World.

Instances of Humours disposed to Drillery in the like Circumstances are very numerous: Of which the following is a very extraordinary one. ——— It is the Will of H——— D———, Esq; of the County of Lancaster, who dyed last February.

I N the Name of God, Amen. I H——— D——— of ———, &c. being sound both in Body and Mind (blessed be God) do therefore think this the best and properest Time of making my last Will and Testament. For as I have no great Notion of a Man's Understanding being very perfect, at a Time that his Body is weak and indisposed; and as a great Part of what I have to dispose of, will be found valuable in Proportion to the Salubrity of my Intellectuals; I think myself under an Obligation of swerving at

this Conjunction from the Usage of Mankind, and of declaring my Will, at a Season, in which I find both Body and Mind influenced by the utmost Vigour and Sanity. In the Name therefore of that one eternal God, who created all Things, and from whom all Wisdom is derived, I do this 24th Day of December, 1733, declare, make, and publish my Will in the Manner following.

Imprimis. I leave my Body, as a very wholsom Feast to the Worms inhabiting the Vault of my Family: To whom I acknowledge myself extremely indebted for eating up my Ancestors; particularly, for their Kindness in demolishing an old testy Father, who left me at his Death 50,000l. tho' he was very near upon starving me during his Life.

Item. To all practising Solicitors and Attorneys I bequeath the following Proverb, *viz.* *Honesty is the best Policy.*—And this Legacy I chuse to give to those worthy Gentlemen; it being the only one I can think of, for which I could be sure they would not quarrel.

Item. To the Kings of England, and all other of God's Vice-gerents, I leave the following Interpretation of that Maxim in our Law, so often quoted for the Support of arbitrary Power, *viz.* *The King can do no Wrong:* And this I interpret to import only, that the King can have no just Prerogative to do any Injury or Wrong to his Subjects.

Item. To all married Women I bequeath Cleanliness.

Item. To all married Men I bequeath the same good Quality; as likewise the utmost Decency of Behaviour and Expression, at least in the Presence of their Wives and Daughters.

Item. To all Coquets, within the Cities of London and Westminster, I leave Despair, rotten Reputations, and the Contempt of every Man of Sense.

Item. To all Prudes within the Cities aforesaid, I from my Soul bequeath Virginty and Wrinkles: Or, if they prefer having a Bastard by their Father's Butler, Groom, or Coachman; or any other Butler, Groom, &c. I desire my Executors may give them their Choice.

Item. To the Parliament of Great Britain, I leave all ecclesiastical Courts; and hope an Act will soon pass for purging them effectually.

Item. To the Parliament of Great Britain, I leave the Reformation of all the Courts at Westminster-Hall, vulgarly called Courts of Justice.

Item. To the aforesaid Parliament, I leave the Consideration, when it will be convenient to establish annual Parliaments; and whether there can possibly be a properer Conjunction than the present.

Item. To the Armies of Great Britain and Ireland, I leave all the bad Roads to be mended; and when that is done, I leave them to the Parliament for the same Purpose.

Item. To the R—— R—— the B——s, I give all due Praise, for their Contempt of worldly Grandeur; their glorious Unanimity in the legislative Sphere they act in; their disinterested Care of Christ's Church; and their lively Hopes of being soon translated to a better State.

Item. To the Parson of my Parish, the Rev. Mr. C——, and all other Parsons, I leave the following Piece of Advice: That they would not any longer expose their own Weakness and Absurdity, by attempting to explain Things which are Mysteries, and consequently incomprehensible, and above all Explanation; and that, instead of tiring their Congregations with what they call Demonstrations, they would be pleased to inforce the Practice of that refined System of Morality which our Lord Jesus Christ came down from Heaven to deliver to Mankind.

Item. To C——y C——r, Esq; I leave a pastoral Farce called *Love in a Riddle*; as likewise all his *New-year* and *Birth-day Odes*: And I seriously intreat him to preserve them with a religious Care; for if he does not, I verily believe nobody else will.

Item. To the Authors of the *London Journal*, and the Paper called the *Free Briton*, I leave one Ounce of Modesty, to be divided equally between them. I should have been more munificent in this Bequest, were I not well convinced, that one Ounce will be found more than they'll ever make Use of.

Item. I leave the whole Tribe of polite Coxcombs in and about London, to Sharps, Surgeons, the Pox, and their Taylors.

Item. To S. H—— S——, B. President of the College of Man-Slayers, I leave a curious Norway Spider, with a hundred Legs, and nine Pair of Eyes; as likewise my whole Collection of Shells, Butterflies, &c.

Lastly, To my three Brothers, Thomas, Henry, and John, I leave my whole Estate real and personal; to be divided equally amongst them, Share and Share alike. And my Will is, that if ever they marry, they should not settle one Farthing Pin Money on their Wives; nor more on their eldest Sons, than just a Proportion to their Wives Fortunes.——And I make and ordain my said Brothers, Thomas, Henry, and John, the Executors of this my Will; to see the same performed, as far as lies in their Power, according to my true Intent and Meaning.——In Witness whereof, I, &c.

Free Briton, Aug. 1. N^o 248.

Review of the History of England, to the Time of the Norman Conquest. (See p. 369.)

THAT sensible Men, who have read and considered the History of this Country, would rather have been born in the present Times, than have been the Subjects of any former Reigns, is a Truth, which appears from the first Accounts of this Island, and grows upon us in all succeeding Generations.

From the Time, when the Britons were subdued by the Romans, the bravest of their Youth were drained, to strengthen and recruit the Roman Armies. Upon the Divisions of the Empire, when the Pretenders to Imperial Dignity fought their Battles in Gaul, the British Legions were frequently drawn thither to assist them, 'till at length, upon the Northern Inundations of Goths and Vandals, which ravaged Italy itself, most of the ancient Britons, who were fit for Service, were drawn away from their Country to perish in a foreign War.

The Picts and Scots, finding the Island deserted by the Roman Armies, exhausted of their own bravest Youth, and, weakened by their new Divisions, begun to pour in greater Numbers than ever, into the Northern Parts.

The poor Britons sent over their miserable Epistle for Relief. To Aëtius, thrice Consul, the Groans of the Britons. They told him, That the barbarous People drove them to the Sea, and the Sea back to the barbarous People, between which they had only left the Choice of these two Deaths, either to be killed by one, or drowned by the other.

This terrible Misfortune produced another. The Saxons were intreated by the Britons to give them Assistance; which they sent under Hengist and Horsa, who from their Allies became their Lords, and having drove the Scots and Picts out of the Island, claimed it as their own Dominion; having extinguished one War, they kindled another equally consuming and dreadful.

The End of this War was equally tragical; when a Treaty was entered on in a general Assembly, where 300 Chiefs from either Party met to establish a mutual Agreement. The Saxons, who came there privately armed, fell upon the unarmed Britons, and having butchered the Heads of the People, mastered the Herd with irresistible Fury; after which they invited vast Numbers from the Continent, to share the Spoil of this Country; subdued the whole Province of South Britain, and established in it 7 Kingdoms, known by the Name of the Saxon Heptarchy.

Nor was the Peace of the Country established, even by the Destruction of its ancient People. The 7 Saxon Kingdoms, and the

Princes at the Head of them, fell into Emulation of one another's Greatness. Wars ensued, in Support of their several Pretensions, the Strong swallowing up the Weaker, and these having Recourse to their Neighbours for Defence against encroaching Power. The Rage and Havock of these Contests lasted above 200 Years.

Amidst these various Wars for Power and Dominion, the Religion of those Ages likewise had its Share in Blood; the Saxons first extirpating Christianity, wherever they found it, till, with the ancient Britons, it took its Flight into Wales; and then those Saxons, receiving the Christian Faith from the Romish Missionaries, made War upon the Welch, to bring them into their Scheme of Christianity, after so much War against that People, for holding any Part, or Mode of Christianity at all. In this new Contest, begun at the Instigation of the Romish Priests, 1200 of the poor British Monks are reported to have been slaughtered, whilst they were apart in the Field, at their Prayers for the Success of their Army.

At length, this Saxon Heptarchy itself was swallowed up in one Dominion, and this bloody Course of civil War, amongst a Race of Island-Princes, concluded in the Reign of Egbert, the first Sovereign or Monarch of England.

The Danes now begun their furious Invasions with mighty Numbers of Ships, full of fierce and barbarous People; entering the Thames and the Humber; coasting sometimes as far as Exeter; landing wherever they found the Shores unguarded; filling all with Ravage, Slaughter, and Devestation; where they found any strong Opposition, retiring to their Ships, sailing Home laden with Spoil, and by such Encouragements giving Life to new Expeditions the next Season of the Year. Various were the Struggles and Successes of the two Nations. The War was never at Rest, and the People so dreadfully harrassed, that twelve Battles were fought in one Year.

The Danes increasing still by new Supplies, begun to mingle amongst the Inhabitants of those Parts which they had subdued, made Truces and Treaties, and thereupon grew to live more peaceably under the Laws and Government of the English Kings; and Alfred, after having experienced all the Fortunes of War, had the Renown of governing England in Peace, even with the rare Felicity of maintaining it twelve whole Years together.

The Danes, in succeeding Reigns, made new Expeditions into England, exacting Tribute from her Kings, and Spoils from the People, till Ethelred compounding with them, for his own Safety and their peaceable living in England, and, fortifying himself by an Alliance with Richard Duke of Normandy, laid a Design for the general Massacre of the Danes, spread throughout the Kingdom, and living

living peaceably; which was carried on with that Secrecy and Concurrence of all the *English*, embittered by the *Danish* Exactions, and Insolence over them, that in one Day this Design was executed, and the whole Nation of the *Danes*, without Mercy or Distinction, were massacred about the Year 1002.

Swane, King of *Denmark*, exasperated by the Slaughter of his Nation, and, amongst them, of his own Sister, and animated by the Successes of so many private Expeditions, soon after landed with great Forces, formed several Camps, filled all Parts of the Kingdom with Slaughter, and forced the King to fly for Relief into *Normandy*. *Swane* died in the Midst of his Conquests, and *Canute*, his Son, succeeding to his prosperous Fortunes, came from *Denmark*, with a mighty Fleet, which finding the *English* broken and divided, reduced the Son of *Ethelred* first to a Division of the Monarchy, and then, by his untimely Death, possessed the whole Kingdom.

This fierce Prince cut off some of the *Saxon* Line, and exiled others. He reigned long, and left the Crown for two Successions: But *Hardecnut*, last of these *Danish* Kings, left the Race so universally hated, from their Impositions and Exactions, that the *Saxon* Line, on his sudden Death, became restored by the general Concurrence of the Nobility and People in the Person of *Edward the Confessor*.

Vortigern, who called in the *Saxons*, was elected King or General against the *Picts* Anno 445; and from that Time till *Edward the Confessor* Anno 1041, the greatest Felicity this Island ever enjoyed was in a single Instance of a twelve Years Peace.

The long Reign of *Edward the Confessor*, tho' attended with Wars, both in *Scotland* and *Wales*, was the greatest Respite the *English* had, at that Time, known; yet this was broke by Insurrections fomented by ambitious Men against a soft and easy Prince, whose Concessions to *Harold* made Way for a bloody and destructive War, concerning the Royal Title, wherein 60,000 *Englishmen* perished in Battle, and the *Norman Conqueror*, by the Power of his Sword, changed not only the King, but the Laws: He triumphed more fatally over the innocent People, than he had done over their ambitious Prince, and, by the Terrors of his Conquest, established that absolute Power, to which he had no Pretence from the Rights of Succession. Before his Time the Nature of our Constitution was very perplexed and obscure; under him it seems to have been annihilated; and, after him, rose gradually from small Beginnings, attended with infinite Struggles and Difficulties.

Whilst reading the sorrowful Display of arbitrary Power, we see how infinitely different it is in its Nature and Effects, from that mild and just Government under which we live: There cannot be a stronger Demonstration of the Advantages which we

enjoy under our present Constitution, nor a stronger Motive to love and honour that Prince, who, by the Equity and Vigour of his Administration, supports it.

Universal Spectator, Aug. 3. N° 304.

A remarkable Instance of filial Piety.

A Few Nights since I was in Company with a Gentleman that was in the Road of *Algiers* some Years ago, and was an Eye and Ear Witness of the following Story. One Day as some *Christian* Captives, who had been ransom'd, were going to be discharg'd, the Town-Cruizers brought in a *Swedish* Vessel; one of them hearing it was of that Nation, and being from thence himself, was very desirous to see the Crew, when to his great Surprize he saw his own Father (who was Master of the Ship) in the Company; the Son knew the Father, but the Father (who had lost him when a Youth many Years) knew not the Son, having given him up as dead long before, not hearing any Thing of him. The Son soon made himself known to the Father, who embraced him with great Tenderness; but their Unhappiness to meet in that Place was grievous to them both. The young Man address'd himself to his Father in this Manner: *The Slavery you are going into will be insupportable to you, and soon put an End to your Life, the Thoughts of which is Death to me; I have been here a great many Years, and know the Country, the People, and their Work; if they will accept of me in your room, I will go back into Slavery, and you shall go home again; I know, if it should please God to enable you, or raise Friends, I shall be redeem'd; if not, God's Will be done.* The *Moors* readily accepted the Exchange; so the Father return'd Home, and the Son back in his stead into Slavery. How rare are such Sons!

A. Z.

Weekly Register, Aug. 3. N° 230.

How to prolong the Marriage Union.

THE principal Means to preserve matrimonial Felicity, consists in the Choice of the Woman. I have often observed that the notable Housewife, (as she is commonly stiled,) makes the most mutinous Wife in the World. She is bred up with high Notions of her Capacity, and of the great Importance she is to a Family: That the whole Weal of it depends upon her Care and Frugality: That her Husband, no Doubt, would often have been ruined, had not Providence sent him so careful a Guardian; when, in the Circulation of 5 or 600l. a Year, the whole Amount of her good Housewifery, perhaps, exceeds not ten Pounds; a slender Recompence to the poor Man for the Loss of his Quiet, and the Pain he must undergo to see the many Meanesses that

that are practised to support this Character. Avoid therefore, if you prize your Ease, this notable Woman, this bulky Trifler. I would not be misunderstood to recommend, therefore, a careless extravagant Woman, or be thought to include in this Character the prudent affectionate Wife, who is frugal without Sordidness; discreet without Ostentation, and anxious for your Welfare without Impertinence.

Those Ladies who are generally called your Women of Wit and fine Reading, your *Lesbia's* and *Clemira's*, are equally destructive to the Peace of the Husband, with the illiterate *Housewife*. The Female Pedant, as she imagines herself to have a superior Understanding enlarg'd by Learning, will perpetually provoke you with her own Corrections, will repeat the Story you had just before related in a plain agreeable Manner, to let the Company see what great Improvements a refin'd Diction will make in the most trivial Occurrence. She watches your Words, is fearful of your committing a Barbarity in Speech, and will afterwards qualify any Rudenesses in Style to the Company, by saying, My Husband is a very honest Man, and of a good plain Understanding. Besides, this Cast of Mind is the very Bane of all those Decencies that are requisite to the well-ordering of a Family: Those little Affairs, of which a Wife is properly Superintendent, she despises; she neglects too much, like Male Wits, her Dress and Person: No little Endearments, no fondling Agreeableness does she use to amuse and relax the Man just retired from the Business of the Day: This vain conceited Babbler will give you infinite Disturbance. Sooner live in a Prison, or be bound for a *Sharper*, than be buckled to a *Female Wit*, who is proud, impertinent, ignorant, yet perpetually advising, and always fond and forward to convince you of the Inferiority of your Understanding.

As for the celebrated Beauty, the perfect town-bred Lady, the rich Widow, the superannuated Virgin, the Lady of Quality, and the Termagant; the unfortunate Adventurer, who should chuse for his Inmate one in these Circumstances, would soon bemoan his Mistake. I have often wonder'd at the Humour of those Gentlemen, who are so desirous of marrying a Lady of Beauty, or of good Sense; for nothing fades sooner than Beauty in the Eye of the Possessor; and what is generally reckoned good Sense in Women, is rarely accompanied with a right Temper.

That Woman that is unjustly censured by her own Sex to lack good Sense, seems to me to be the best disposed to give Comfort in the married State: She is said to want Spirit, to be a tame, helpless, dispassionate Creature; that she is a sad Manager, and would quickly undo any Husband: The Construction of this is,

she has too much good Understanding to thwart and perplex her Husband in Affairs, which she is sensible he knows much better: That she has the Discernment to discover a much larger Capacity in him, and implicitly gives up her own Judgment to the stronger Mind. She likewise has observed that nothing is gained in the Main of Life, by saving a little Money by vile and narrow Practices. She never rebukes you for Want of Gratitude, never upbraids you with Infidelity; submits with a becoming Easiness to the little Turns of your Temper, which unlucky Accidents in the World have occasioned: She construes every Chagrine in the good natur'd Sense: She is fearful of offending, and her Fondness proceeds from Love, and not from Duty: Who would not be contented under the Reflections of having married a Fool, when blessed with such a Woman, to bring Pleasure and Comfort to your Arms in all your vacant Hours!

Another Thing that is very material to promote and prolong the Marriage Union, is the Behaviour of the Husband to the Wife. In the first Place, 'tis requisite to behave with good Manners and Decency, with the same Carefulness and Regard that a Man approaches his chaste Mistress; to let fall no indecent Expressions, to use no unseemly Actions, or to communicate any Affairs to her, that may induce her to suspect your Honour, or that shall discover any Contempt you have suffered; for Womens Affections are greatly governed by the Opinion the World entertains of you. To be a thorough Master of Wedlock, 'tis necessary oftentimes to impose upon your Wife; be sure then you make her believe you put a vast Confidence in her; that there is nothing of that great Consequence but you would repose in her Bosom; for Women will forgive you every Thing sooner than your mistrusting their Fidelity. But, however, you'll soon understand, that you are to entrust them with very few Things; for some sudden Starts of Passion, or Weakness, or their Love to communicate what they know, will force the Secret from their Bosoms. Overlook many little Errors, and think of her as a Woman. If she performs any little meritorious Action, remember to be thoroughly sensible of it; for they lay a great Stress upon outward ceremonious Behaviour. If you happen to love her with Passion, your Quiet will be very much endanger'd; these Rules will be insignificant: You'll deviate so far from the prudent Behaviour of a Husband to a Wife, that she will lose her Conformableness, and acquire such fantastick Humours, and Obstinacy, from being never controuled, as will very much disturb your Peace and Quiet.

Fog's Journal, Aug. 3. N^o 300.

Pernicious Consequences of the Ambition and Avarice of the Clergy, and their intermeddling with State Affairs.

A Treatise was written (says Fog) some Time after the Restoration, entitled, *The Grounds and Occasions of the Contempt of the Clergy enquired into*; which the Author proves was owing chiefly to the Ignorance of some, and the Poverty of others of the inferior Clergy.

The Clergy have at some other Times fallen into Contempt, but it has been owing to Causes vastly different; it has been occasioned altogether by the Ambition, the Avarice, and Impiety of the Rich, and Dignify'd amongst them; and when it proceeds from these last Causes, it is more dangerous to Religion and Morality. When those who are supposed to have made Religion their Study, who are prefer'd (or ought to be) for their Learning and Knowledge, are seen to neglect the Duties of it, and mind nothing but the Affairs of worldly Interest, many of the common People will be apt to conclude from thence, that Religion itself is a Jest, and so by Degrees become Infidels. Others, who do not give their Thoughts so great a Loose, will begin to have a bad Opinion of that Church which has a profligate Clergy at its Head, and perhaps, will join in Communion with some other Church, where better Example is given, by those who are set apart for its Ministry.

I think no Writer has told us, that the Contempt which fell upon the Clergy, by their Poverty, brought about the Reformation; but many have told us, that it was the Wealth and large Possessions of the Church which occasioned it. I think nothing raises the Detestation of the World so justly against a Churchman, as Ambition and Avarice; how odd must it be to see, that a Man no sooner has a pastoral Cure committed to him, which is sufficient to take up all his Thoughts, but he thinks no more of it, and employs all his Industry in order to enrich himself by Time-serving, by Party, Faction, and Politicks, at the last of which they are generally most wretched Dabblers?

I have seen a Treatise written in the Time of K. Charles I. entitled, *The pernicious Consequence of the Clergy's intermeddling with Affairs of State, with Reasons humbly offered for passing a Bill to incapacitate them from the like Practice for the future.*

Without justifying the Proceedings of those Times, I believe every Man will agree, that it had been better for the Church, the King and the Nation, that such a Bill had taken Effect, before some of the Bishops had turned

the Hearts of the People against their whole Order, by their servile Compliances for Preferment.

Whilst the Clergy (says the foremention'd Writer) kept themselves within their due Bounds, and were not bled with Ambition beyond their just Dimensions; before Avarice had corrupted their Simplicity, and Priestcraft was put upon the Rack to maintain their Pride; till the preaching of the Gospel was laid aside for Politicks, and the Cure of Souls was forced to give Way to Intrigues of State; before the Order of Things became thus inverted, we find few Instances of Dissension amongst the People, or those violent Commotions which have since hurried the Christian World into those unnatural Convulsions, that shock the very Foundation of Government, and make the Basis thereof tremble.

But no sooner did these Men, who profess to converse with Heaven, begin to mind nothing but earthly Things; no sooner did those, who ought to be crucified to the World, begin to grow cold towards Heaven, and to court those transient and worthless Trifles, (as they call them in their Pulpits;) no sooner were they enamoured with those mortal Beauties, The Lust of the Flesh, the Lust of the Eye, and the Pride of Life (which last is too much the Inamorata of the Tribe of Levi) but the Purity of the Gospel began to be corrupted, the Spirituality of Religion to vanish, and Hypocrisy, Sensuality, and Dissimulation to act their Parts in the World; so that at length Godliness was nothing but an empty Name, Sincerity an utter Stranger, and Interest became the great Diana, to which too many, ad Instar Cleri, paid their Devotions.

Craftsman, Aug. 3. N^o 422.

Mrs. Osborne prov'd an old Woman.

Mr. D'Anvers,

YOU concluded one of your Papers very properly with an Assertion, or something like it, *That Mrs. Osborne is actually an old Woman*, and desy'd her to deny it; which at length brings the only Question, that in Reality ever subsisted between you, to a short and fair Issue. The only Point then to be consider'd in this Letter, is, whether the Writer of the London Journal, commonly called Francis Osborne, be really an old Woman or not.

I am sensible this may be thought a needless Task, the Publick having long since determined the Question against her, and she herself not daring to accept your Challenge; nay she hath even given up the Point, by concluding one of her Papers with these remarkable Words, *so prophesies old Mother Osborne*. But as she seems to part with her Virility in a sneering Manner, and hath employed some of her Agents to contradict it in private

private Whispers about Town, (which is certainly very much unlike a *Gentleman*) I think it necessary to detect so arrant an *Imposter*, and expose her fully to the World. I shall therefore point out some Marks of *Anility*, which may be easily found in her Works; and as they will evince the Fairness of the Question, so they will enable us to conclude from her *publick* what are her *private* Parts.

In the first Place, she hath long been famous for telling the same dismal Story every *Saturday*, with great Heaviness of Heart, and without any Variation; which hath the same Effect upon her Readers as an *old Nurse's* Lullaby, and rocks them as regularly asleep.

As she hath not Discernment enough to perceive that she is treated with *Contempt*, your Condescension in detecting her *Absurdities* enhances her *Pride*, and whilst you only intend a gentle *Rebuke*, she esteems it a Proof of her *Merit*, and talks of her *Importance*, meerly because you had been at the Pains to shew that she was really of *none*.

She knows little of the World, and less of her *Master's* Designs; yet hath work'd herself up to such an enthusiastick Opinion of his Virtues and Abilities, that she not only asserts all his Measures to be *right*, but undertakes to prove it impossible for him to do any Thing *wrong*.

Notwithstanding her *Credulity*, she is very fond of what she calls *Reasoning*; that is, a Sort of *argumentative Cant*, or Effusion of Words without any Meaning, which is applicable to the Publick, or the State of the Case.

She is very positive, peevish, vindictive, and supplies the Barrenness of her Invention with much *Garrulity*, which increases with her *Errors*, and those multiply upon her by *Opposition*.

All her Admonitions, of which she is very liberal, are of a Kind peculiar to those, whose *Ignorance* is brought to Maturity by *Age*; which she esteems an undeniable Title to *instruct*, and in her Apprehension lays the Publick under the same Obligation to regard, as it does herself to *preach* her Lectures; for my Devotions, says she, are dedicated solely to their Use; I love the People of England, tho' they are so ungrateful as to hate my honoured Master.

Like most antiquated *Gossips*, she is excessively fond of *Praise*, which always sets her Clack a-going with fresh Vigour, like oiling an old *Jack*; and whenever it hath been slightly acknowledged that, in her *tatling* Career, she hath sometimes happened to hit upon *Truth*, she hath so little Discretion as to attribute it to *Design*. But if her *Understanding* is disputed, and her *Age* is not admitted to put it out of Question, she is commonly very outrageous, lifts up her Hands, and wonders at the Obstinacy of *young People*.

In one Particular, she is indeed somewhat

unlike most Persons in her Years, by preferring the *present Times* to the *past*, and maintaining that no Age was ever blest'd with so much *publick Virtue* as that, in which we live. But this proceeds from the Violence of her Passion for her dear *Master*, which puts her out of Humour with every Thing, that does not come immediately from *him*, and often throws her into very indecent Emotions. This is natural to People in her Condition, who are apt to discover the Fulness of their Hearts by a Rhapsody of silly fond Things, according to that celebrated Observation of the Poet;

And Nonsense shall be Eloquence in Love.

These Instances, tho' I could add several others, are sufficient to my present Purpose, being the peculiar Characteristicks of *feminine Dotage*; but the *Productions*, from whence I have extracted these *Criteria*, are so little read, or known, that it may be expected from me to support each of them by a *particular Reference*. This Objection I foresaw, and endeavour'd to remove it, by searching very diligently for a Collection of Mrs. *Osborne's* Writings; but not having the Honour to be acquainted with any *Postmaster*, or *Exciseman*, my Labour proved in vain; for very few *Coffeehouses* take them in, and where they are obliged to do it, I was inform'd that they are constantly torn off the Book, upon all pressing Occasions, and apply'd to a *private Use*; so that I hope to be exempted from the insuperable Difficulty of converting them, as I proposed, to a *publick Benefit*.

Having always profess'd a very great Regard for the *Ladies*, even in grey Hairs, I hope nobody will charge me with offering an Indignity to the *whole Sex*, thro' the weak Sides of Mrs. *Osborne*; the foregoing Description must be confin'd to those *old Women* only, the constituent Parts of whose Characters are made up of *Folly* and *Affectation*. Now, if one of this *Cast* should take it into her Head, either thro' *Dotage*, or *Love of Money*, to extend her natural Privilege of *preaching domestic Lectures* to *publick Affairs*, she would certainly do it so much in the same Strain with our *Authoress*, that from thence alone her *Character*, as well as her *Sex* and *Age*, might be determined.

I remember a *female Rhetorician* of this Kind, some Years ago, who held forth every *Sunday Evening* at *Dick's Coffee-house*, and always drew a numerous Audience round her by her *abstracted Reasoning*, and *Sublimity of Diction*. I mean the learned Mrs. *Byfield*, common called Doctor *Byfield*, who had a good deal more *Spirit*, and *volatile Salt* in her Constitution than Mrs. *Osborne*, but resembled her so nearly in every other Respect, that I could not pass her by without some Notice, in a Dissertation on this Subject.

But I have not yet done with Mrs. *Osborne*, for I am so well aware of her cavilling Temper, that I am resolv'd to put an End to this Dispute, if possible, before I conclude; and being aware of some Evidences, which she designs to produce of her *Virility*, I shall consider them in Form.

In the first Place, a *Barber* is ready to make Oath, as I am inform'd, that he hath shaved her for several Years. But he is such a lying, impudent Fellow, that his Testimony ought not to be taken in a Point of such Importance. Besides, supposing the Fact to be true, it is no Proof of the Point in Question; for I have seen many an *old Woman* with a Beard; and every Body knows that it is the Fashion in *Italy*, as well as several other Parts of the World, for the *Ladies* to *shave*.

It may be farther urg'd in her Defence that she wears *Breeches*, not in a figurative Sense, like several notable Dames about Town, but according to the literal Meaning of those Words. I grant this likewise; and so did that famous Amazon, Mrs. *Sarah Ross*, who served her Country with great Gallantry for several Years, as a Dragoon, and now enjoys a Pension from the Government on that Account. But she had the Modesty to retreat into *Petticoats*, as soon as her Sex was discovered by an unlucky Shot, and at present makes no Scruple to own herself an *old Woman*; how different from this is the Case of Mrs. *Osborne*, who having disguis'd herself in *Man's Attire*, and cull'd her *Patron* out of an Employment, which she knew to be untenable by one of her Sex, obtain'd Leave to sell it, and yet hath the Confidence to appear in the same Habit, even at Noonday!

There was just such another *female Impostor*, about 7 or 8 Years ago, who having truss'd herself up in *Breeches*, was admitted as a Drawer in a noted Tavern near *Temple-Bar*, and continued long in that Station. Nay, she had the Impudence to persist in her *Manhood*, after the whole Neighbourhood was convinc'd of the contrary, and would never give it up, till she was brought to Bed of a thumping Girl; but then she too threw off the Disguise, and hath since follow'd the proper Occupation of a *Washerwoman*. Besides, she was a bold, young *Hussy*, and might probably be tempted by the Force of some Amour to transform herself in this Manner, which I am told was the Case of Mrs. *Ross*; but what was somewhat excusable in young *Wench*es is quite abominable in such an old Creature as *Mother Osborne*, and deserves the severest Repentment of the whole fair Sex.

Since I have mention'd this *pert, young Baggage*, who personated a *Man*, and was soon after deliver'd of a *Daughter*; I must do Mrs. *Osborne* the Justice to acknowledge that I never heard her charg'd with having had any other Issue than those of her Head; nor,

indeed, is this any Thing to the Purpose; for if she could produce a whole Race of Children in real Flesh and Blood, the main Question would still be, whether she was the *Father*, or the *Mother* of them. But to proceed.

Some of Mrs. *Osborne's* Friends, finding it impossible to maintain her Claim of *Virility*, have Recourse to another Method, and confessing that she was originally a *Woman*, pretend that she underwent a Transformation of Sexes in the memorable Year 1722, by the Conjunction of * *Jupiter, Mars* and *Saturn*, which alarm'd the whole Kingdom; but this is a meer Fallacy; for tho' I am ready to allow that she never appeared in Town as a *Man* before that Time, it hath been already proved that she hath committed several Overt-Acts of *Muliebrity* since.

Others again, more sagacious, endeavour to prove her a Creature of the *Epicene Gender*, like *Homo* in *Latin*, which signifies both a *Man* and a *Woman*, or what we call an *Hermaphrodite*. This is a very nice Distinction, and cannot be fully decided without an *Inspection*, or, what the *Civilians* call a *Conjess*; but, for my Part, I am very clear in the Case; for tho' her *female Parts* are visible enough, I will defy these *Gentlemen* to shew me any Thing *manly* in her Composition, or that discovers the least Mark of a *masculine Spirit*. However, as this is infinitely the best Plea in her Defence, I would advise her to stick by it, and not pretend to jump at once into *Manhood*, like *Montaigne's Girl*, but take her Degrees regularly and with great Caution; for she knows very well that Nature cannot exert itself so strongly in *old Age*, as in the Vigour of *Youth*.

In the mean Time, I must insist on it that she should spell her Christian Name *Frances*, instead of *Francis*, and not endeavour to impose one Name upon us for the other, because there happens to be but a single Letter different between them. I shall only add that if she persists in such mean Prevarication, or makes any Attempt to turn so serious a Point into Ridicule, I shall be oblig'd to produce a Certificate from the *Parish Register* against her, and give the Publick a more circumstantial Account when, and on what Occasion, she metamorphos'd herself in this Manner. But I hope she will take this gentle Rebuke in good Part, and not give me, or you, any farther Trouble on this Head. I am yours, &c.

Fog's Journal, Aug 10. N^o 301.

WE find (says *Fog*) by our publick News Papers, that the Sufferers in the *Charitable Corporation* are come to a Resolution to petition the high Court of *Chancery*, for some Relief against those who have defrauded

* See Pope and Swift's *Miscellanies*, Vol. III. p. 85.

defrauded them of no less a Sum than 500,000l. Sterling.

It seems this Motion met with Opposition, and the Reason given for opposing it was, that the great Expence of a *Chancery* Suit, would be more than the Company was able to bear.

It gives us a terrible Idea of the Practice of our Courts of Law, when even in that which is called a Court of Conscience and Equity, the Expences should be so prodigious, as to frighten People from soliciting for Justice, where the most palpable Injustice has been committed.

The Sufferers in this Corporation applied to Parliament for Relief; (Vol. I. p. 378.) but a certain great Man opposed the Criminals being brought to Justice in a Parliamentary Way: So that after the Solicitation of two Sessions, all that was obtained was, that some Persons were declared guilty of indirect and fraudulent Practices, and two who were Members expelled, without being obliged to refund one Shilling. (Vol. I. p. 525.)

When I say nothing was obtained for the Sufferers, I mean nothing from those who defrauded them; for as to the Lottery, that was at the Expence of the Adventurers, viz. the Publick. As nothing is more mortifying than to be insulted by those who have wrong'd us in our Property, I conceive that the numerous Sufferers in this Corporation may look upon it as Kind of Insult upon their Miseries, to see the People who have embezzled their whole Fortunes riding about every Day in sumptuous Equipages, while some of them want Shoes; and therefore it is no Wonder, that they should apply to Chancery, when they failed in their Application to Parliament. Here *Fog* subjoins

A Speech for relieving the Sufferers in the Charitable Corporation; spoken in the House of Commons, May 8, 1732.

THE House is extremely obliged to the Hon. Gentlemen of the Committee, for the great Pains they have taken, and Skill they have shewn, in detecting a dark and execrable Scene of Villainy. And surely we ought not to entertain any Proposition which comes from them with Jealousy and Distrust.

I can therefore by no Means agree with those Gentlemen, who suspect that there is some latent and disguised Meaning in the Question, and are for leaving out the latter Part of it: Because I think no Question was ever framed with more Candour, or conceived in more clear and intelligible Terms; and the latter Part is the necessary, the natural Conclusion from the Premises, contained in the first Part: For since the Persons named have been lately voted guilty of the Crimes, with which they stand charged in the Report of our Committee; what is the next Step we are to take,

but to vote some Punishment; and what Punishment so mild with Regard to the Offenders, or so just with Regard to the Sufferers, as Restitution?

Let us take the whole Question together, and we shall judge best of the Propriety and Coherence of its several Clauses. It runs thus, *That * * * * * having been guilty of many notorious Breaches of Trust, and many indirect and fraudulent Practices, in the Direction and Management of the Affairs of the Charitable Corporation, and having thereby occasioned great Losses to many of his Majesty's Subjects, ought to make a just Satisfaction for the same.* (Vol. I. p. 526.)

I am at a Loss to comprehend why Gentlemen should dislike any Expressions in this Question, especially why the ingenious Lord, and the worthy Person his Second, should object to the Words *Just Satisfaction*. For certainly they cannot imagine that these Words will be declared unintelligible in this House, where the Nature and Meaning of *Justice* is supposed to be perfectly well understood; and they must forgive me, if I think no Dutch Commentators ever mistook the Sense of an Author more grossly, than they have mistaken the Sense of this Question.

But what is most remarkable, is the Impatience some Gentlemen express to know, whether the Advocates for the Question intend to proceed against the Offenders by Impeachment, or by Bill; and they seem to demand, that we should immediately come to a Resolution.

Whence can this Impatience arise? If it arises from Compassion, why were these very Gentlemen, who now interpose, silent? Why did they suffer the Objects of their Compassion to be unanimously censured, when they had made but an insufficient Defence for themselves, and wanted the Aid of their Eloquence? If it arises from Curiosity; I think it ought rather to be kept in Suspence than gratified, because it is unseasonable and irregular. If it arises from the Fears and Apprehensions of particular Persons; why should others, who are under no such Anxiety, be obliged to remove those Fears, especially when it is impossible for them to know how well they may be grounded.

Since then no good Reason appears to justify this extraordinary Demand; since this Question is only declarative of our present Disposition to do Justice, and to give Satisfaction to the injured and distressed Proprietors; methinks there should be no Difficulty in passing it. For we shall be as much at Liberty after we have passed it, as we are before, to choose that Method of Proceeding which shall be thought most proper.

What has been said concerning the Difference betwixt Impeachments and Bills of Attainder, is foreign to our present Point, and

might have been spared in an Audience where that Argument hath been so fully and frequently discussed, at the End of almost every Administration.

We all know that *Impeachments* are the ancient Parliamentary Method of bringing publick Criminals to publick Justice, and it is the Method we ought to pursue on common and ordinary Occasions. Not but that it is liable to many Difficulties, to the Tediousness and Perplexity of Forms, to the Caprice of the House of Lords, by which Means Justice hath very often been delayed, and sometimes entirely defeated.

We all know too, that *Bills of Attainder* are the utmost Stretch, and the terrible Part of Parliamentary Power, which ought never to be exerted, but in the most heinous and most flagrant Instances. I have always considered them as such: My Aversion is sufficiently known, by my constant Opposition to them, and I envy no Man the Glory of having carried *Bills of Pains and Penalties* thro' this House, by being Prosecutor, Judge, Jurymen, and even Evidence in the same Cases.

But should it happen in our Day, that an overgrown unwieldy Minister of State should tumble from the Height of his Power, and fall under the Censure of this House, for protecting Fraud, and patronizing Corruption: A Minister, Sir, who may have made such Bills, as are now dreaded, the Instruments of his personal Vengeance, and the Support of his cruel Administration: Perhaps the Voice of an injured and oppressed Nation may then prevail over Gentlemen's natural Inclinations, and force them to comply with what they would otherwise decline. Nor could the Criminal himself, with any Appearance of Modesty, or Colour of Reason, complain. For *Lex Talionis* would at least be *Argumentum ad Hominem*, and the World might universally allow, that it would be a righteous Judgment, for *Necis Artifices arte perire sua*.

I should apologize for this Digression, had not the Course of the Debate led me into it. But I shall conclude with returning to the Question, and humbly offering my Opinion that we ought to assure the Proprietors, we will assist them (in a future Session, tho' we cannot in this) to repair the excessive Losses they have sustained, by the Frauds and Iniquities of their Directors, as far as lies within the Reach of this Part of the Legislature.

Craftsman, Aug. 10. N^o 423.

Conduct of the Ministerial Writers.

Mr. D'Anvers,

WHEN the whole ministerial Flock open upon you at once, and gabble all together, they hope either to dumfound you

in the Confusion of Sounds, or to engage your Pen in a senseless Altercation, and provoke you to throw back some of the Dirt, which they dispense so plentifully.

They are sensible likewise, that, during such a Debate, the Poverty of their Arguments will be concealed; for this is the constant Refuge of bad Writers, who, when they cannot reason, always rail; as they tell us the *Scuttlefish*, when he is closely pursued, covers himself with a black Substance, like Ink, and so escapes the Pursuit of his Adversary.

When that righteous old Lady, Dame Osborne, is hard pinched in an Argument, she chafes not to have Recourse to this Stratagem. She scolds, and calls Names most strenuously. But this our *ancient Oratrix* does with a political View, and only in order to gain Time, recover her Breath, and take off the Attention of the Publick from some Assertions, out of which she has been shamefully beaten.

She puts me in Mind of an eminent old Pleader now alive, and very well known in Covent-Garden Market, by the Name of the old Serjeant. She hath been famous for her Pleadings there many Years. Her Lungs are, at this Hour, very good. She has a Gravity, and a Sort of Ratiocination in her very Countenance; being bless'd with an inflexible Set of Muscles, and never descending to the least Humour, or Pleasantry, on any Occasion. The Curious, indeed, have observed a Sort of Wildness in the Cast of her Eye, which looked as if there was somewhere or other a little Crack. The arterial Vesicles round her Mouth are broken, as it is supposed, in the Heat of some of her youthful Altercations, and have left two black Semi-Circles there, the honourable Insignia of an ancient Tongue-Warriour. This veteran Heroine has often been reduced, in her Age, to make use of Art, and when she finds herself warmly pushed, and her Breath failing her, she always faces about, turns her Rear to the Enemy, and in great Contempt beats a March there with both her Hands, till she recovers the Use of her Lungs, and then returns with fresh Vigour to the Charge. This is what may be literally called *Argumentum a Posteriori*.

There is another Lady in the same Market, some 20 Years younger than this *Championess*, who is known by the Name of the Young Serjeant. This Gentlewoman is greatly admired for a most prodigious Fluency in her Pleadings. She pours forth such a Torrent of Words, she rolls along such a Volubility of Syllables, and rails so incessantly, that she is generally esteem'd a perfect Mistress in the Art of Vociferation, and what she utters is certainly very good Market Eloquence. Yet I have heard this Young Serjeant reduced to a Stratagem, not much unlike that of her ancient Sister.

It was this. When she found her *Opponent* much superior, and that it was impossible for her to have any other Retreat, she always threw these unanswerable Words at her Head; *God blefs his Majesty and all the Royal Family; What have you to say to that now, you B—b?* —This always closed the Debate, if the Passion of the *Gentlewoman*, who pleaded on the other Side, did not happen to be much superior to her Loyalty.

I hope the most ingenious *'Squire Walsingham* will forgive me; but I never heard the *Young Serjeant* plead, without putting me in Mind of his Style and Manner of Opposition. When he has thrown out his fluent and incoherent Ideas, without any Success, he is enraged; he loses all Temper, and positively declares that you are an Enemy to the *Constitution*, and calls upon the civil Power to make his Argument good. With how much more Modesty, than this *loquacious 'Squire*, does the *Young Serjeant* shelter herself under these Words only; *God blefs his Majesty and all the Royal Family*.

Now, Mr. D'Anvers, tho' I am utterly against your employing too much of your Time against these Writers, yet I think you are obliged in Gratitude to take some Notice of them; since it is very much owing to them, that you make so considerable a Figure in your old Age. Besides, these *low Creatures* should be sometimes made ridiculous; and therefore give me Leave to tell you a Story, and introduce it with the following courtly Air from the *Beggar's Opera*, which I heartily recommend to the Consideration of good Mrs. Osborne.

Why bow now, Madam Flirt?

Since you needs must chatter,

And are for flinging Dirt,

Let's try who best can spatter.

A Merchant of my Acquaintance, who resided some Time at *Bencolen*, bought a tame Elephant there, whom he suffered to go at large. This Animal used to walk about the Streets, in as civil and familiar a Manner as any of the Inhabitants, and wonderfully delighted himself in visiting the Shops; particularly those, which sold Herbs and Fruit, where he was always well received, excepting only by a Couple of brutal Coblers, who dwelt in that Quarter. These Fellows without any Reason, took Offence at the generous Creature, and had once or twice attempted to wound his *Proboscis* with their Awls. The noble Animal, who knew it was beneath him to crush them, did not disdain to chastise them. He fill'd his large muscular Trunk with a considerable Quantity of Water, not the cleanest, and advancing to them, as usual, cover'd them at once with a dirty Flood. The Fools were laugh'd at, and the Vengeance applauded.

I am, &c.

Universal Spectator, Aug. 17. N^o 306.

Of the Style of Scripture.

A MONG many trifling Objections against the Inspiration of the *Holy Scriptures*, the Simplicity of their Style has been urg'd as a Proof that they could not come from God, being too mean for his Dignity, and even below the Eloquence of the *Pagan Writers*. But, certainly the Style of any Writer should be adapted to the Capacities of those he would improve; and I take it for a Maxim, that the Grace of Eloquence consists in Propriety of Speech. It would be against the Rules of Rhetorick for a Subject to speak in the Style of a King, or an Advocate in that of a Judge; what would be Eloquence in the one would be Folly in the other; that of the Subject must be *bumble*, that of the Advocate persuasive, that of the Judge determinate, that of the King plain and absolute. Would it be consistent then with the Majesty of an Omnipotent God, who rules, who judges and directs Mankind, to use the Oratorical Inductions of Plato, the artful Syllogisms of Aristotle, or the vehement Exclamations of Cicero? The Mandates and Proclamations of the Kings of the Earth are set forth without Ornament and without Art; surely then the plainer the Law of God is, the more proper it is, being easier understood by all Mankind without Exception, for whose Good it was ordain'd.

But what will these Critics say when in the Meanness and Simplicity of the Scriptures there is really more Dignity and Force than is any where else to be found? In the Bible is contain'd History, and the Excellency of History is Truth: Now what stronger Indications can we have of Truth in History, than to have the Facts related plain and artless, in a Style which sets to our Eyes Things past as if they were really present, and yet moves our Passions in the same Manner those were mov'd of whom we read. Let any Man of common Humanity read how Isaac was led to Sacrifice, how Joseph became known to his Brethren, how David mourn'd over Absalom, and he must feel the various Motions of Fear, of Love, of Pity and Compassion: Let him read again the same Stories in Josephus, set off with all the Ornaments of Rhetorick, and he'll find they have not half the Force; for Beauty wants no Painting, and Truth the more naked it is, it is the more lovely.

In our Scriptures we have Prophecies, and in those Prophecies, Denuncements, Threatnings and Exhortations: On such Occasions it is the Rule of Oratory to raise the Expressions, thereby to enforce the Authority. In this Kind Tully the greatest Orator of the Romans excell'd; yet what Oration, what Part of his *Philippics*, or the Speech which mov'd Caesar,

Cæsar, can compare with the solemn Majesty of *Isaiab*? Where is that *Eloquence*, *Force* and *Dignity* in *Tully*, with which *Isaiab* opens — *Hear O Heavens and give Ear O Earth, for the Lord hath spoken, I have nourish'd and brought up Children and they have rebell'd against me: The Ox knoweth his Owner, and the Ass his Master's Crib, but Israel doth not know, my People doth not consider.* — *Ab! Sinful Nation, a People laden with Iniquity, a Seed of evil Doers, Children that are Corruptors, they have forsaken the Lord, they have provok'd the Holy One of Israel to Anger, they are gone away backward: Why should ye be stricken any more?* — What *Dignity*, what *Eloquence*, what *Humility*, what *Kindness*, what *Reason* and *Affection* are contain'd in these few Words! And yet how much stronger should we find them in their own *Language* and their own *Accents*!

But these learned Criticks, who think the Scriptures too trifling and mean to employ their Time, how do they employ it? To find out whether the true Reading is *Vergilius*, or *Virgilius*; *Omnis*, or *Omnes*, or *Omneis*, — or else laboriously annotating on *Bawdy Poets*, and explaining their hidden Meaning by their more *Bawdy Comments*.

What greater Praise can the Scripture have than the Censure of such Men? While they who study them most, find they are written in a Style the best calculated to instruct Mankind, and to convey to them the *Laws*, the *Power* and *Authority* of a God, who rules from *Everlasting to Everlasting*.

London Journal, Aug. 17. N° 790.

Conduet of the Antiministerial Writers.

THE Writers against the *Constitution*, the *Government*, and the *Ministry*, (for now they strike at every Thing, says *Osborne*) have tried all possible Ways to defame the Court, and disgrace all Men in Power. They have compared the *Government* to all the *Tyrannies*, antient and modern: But their favourite Parallel hath been the Reign of *Tiberius*; because, it seems, the *Form* of the *Roman Free Government* remain'd when the *Substance* was gone; the *Senate* was in *Being*, tho' the *Senate* was nothing but a *Name*. Thus have they exulted and triumph'd, till call'd upon to make out their *Parallels* by *parallel Actions* of tyrannical Power; and then they dropp'd the *Argument*, and fell to *coarse Raillery* and *low Humour*: Which is their constant Resource in Time of Distress.

They have, I think, taken up all the *arbitrary Governments* and *absolute Monarchies* in the World, to throw at the Heads of the *Ministry*, except one, and that is, the *Monarchy of Hell*; that *Rudget* is not yet open'd:

But perhaps they want proper Materials; if they do, I would recommend them to a Book publish'd a few Years ago; intitled, *The Political History of the Devil*; where they may please themselves, and amuse their *Mob Readers*, with a great Variety of as *wise* and *just Parallels*, as any they have yet produced, not excepting *Bajazet* or our *Richard the Second*.

Oliver Cromwell, tho' one of the greatest Tyrants *History* hath handed down to us, hath met with better Quarter from them; he is grown a mighty Favourite with *Hereditary Right-Men*, *Jacobites*, and *Patriot Whigs*; and brought in to shame the present Government, and throw Infamy upon the Constitution: For he, it seems, wondrous good Man! governed mildly; he suffered his *illegal Power* to be bound by *wise* and *good Restraints*, and consented to greater Limitations of Power than every one would have expected from him. (See p. 374.) This is said; but the Truth concerning *Cromwell* is the very Reverse of this Account. He was so far from suffering himself to be limited by any *wise* and *good Restraints*, that he would suffer no *Restraints* but what were *nominal*, or in Words only.

Fog's Journal, Aug. 17. N° 203.

THIS Paper contains some farther Quotations from a Treatise, in relation to the *Clergy's meddling in Affairs of State*, (See p. 424.) which *Fog* concludes thus:

As to our Parts, I hope we need not fear any of those Hardships and Inconveniences, which may fall upon the Publick, no more than the Scandal and Danger, which the Church may suffer, by a Time-serving and mercenary Priesthood; the Dignified amongst the Clergy will not neglect their pastoral Charge, to attend the Nod of an arbitrary Fellow in Power, and to do his vile Drudgery in another Place, will not forget their Duty at the Altar; for they will consider, that the inferior Clergy or People of a remote Diocese, can be but little edified by the Life and Example of one, who always lives at *London*; and while the Time and Care of their Pastor are employ'd in searching the Way to a more lucrative Diocese, those committed to his Charge may possibly lose their Way to Heaven.

If at the Day of Judgment, a Priest should be call'd to an Account for Irregularities that had crept into his Diocese, I believe it would be but a bad Excuse for him to answer, that he knew nothing of the Matter, because he was otherwise employ'd when these Things happen'd; that he was busy in voting for *H—s* *T—s* and *Standing A—s*, in approving — Treaties, and unappropriating of Funds; that he could not find Leisure to look to the saving the Peoples Souls, because he was employ'd in giving away their Mo-

Money. I have a Notion such an Excuse would hardly pass before such a Tribunal.

The good Prelate in our Days will follow the Example of the primitive Bishops. If he is sparing in his Expences, it is, that he may be able to distribute the more in Charities; when he is observ'd to be assiduous in collecting and managing his Revenues, it is in order to give Pensions to the Indigent and Deserving amongst the inferior Clergy; his Time is not employ'd in cringing amidst a Crowd of Slaves at *Levees*, or watching the leisure Hours of a Man in Power, in order to solicit a civil Employment for one Son, a military Post for another, a Deanery or Prebend for a third, for all which he is to pay by the Prostitution of his Character; but he is watchful over his Flock, and diligent to know what Sins they are most likely to fall into: If they are tempted by Bribes, which may draw them into the Sin of Perjury, he gives Charges and Instructions to his Clergy to preach against that Sin, nay, he will preach against it himself; he knows, that, as Bishop Burnet says, Prelates are not to think of amassing Wealth, and building up new Families out of the Revenues of the Church; and it is by this Conduct, that he maintains in the People a Reverence for Religion, and a Respect for the Priesthood.

Craftsman, Aug. 17. N^o 424.

Farther Remarks on the Scottish Election of sixteen Peers. (See p. 370.)

AS all the ministerial Advocates reason in much the same Strain on this Subject, and catch the Echo from one another, I shall confine myself chiefly to Mr. Walsingham; not forgetting good Mrs. Osborne in my Way.

The modest Esquire begins with observing that the Merits of this Election being cognizable only by the House of Peers, all Enquiries into it are an Anticipation of their Judgment. This is both false and frivolous; for we pretend not to determine whether the Charge laid in the *Protests* be true or false, but only argue upon the Heinousness of the Guilt, supposing it to be proved.

He is pleas'd to represent us arguing that 25 Voices (which were the losing Numbers) are a greater Majority than 60. But this is more like Mr. Walsingham's own Way of Reasoning than ours, and favours very strongly of the ministerial Way of Calculation. We do not say that 25 are more than 60; but we apprehend that if the Election should be proved contrary to Law, it signifies nothing by what Majority it was carried.

As to the Exception against the Place of Election, it appears to have been only a cursory Complaint that the Room was incommodious; for I can find nothing about it in my Copy of the Minutes.

He then proceeds to what he calls the second Pretence against the Freedom of the Election, viz. that there was an armed Force to awe it, and confesses that Col. Handasyde's Regiment was drawn out on the Day of Election; but it was only to preserve the Peace.

—Methinks this Way of Reasoning is somewhat like that of the Russians, who came into Poland with an Army, to secure the Freedom of Election. But here again Mr. W. asks another String of notable Questions; as for Instance — Was any Hindrance given to the Lords, who resorted to the Election? Any Lord kept from voting, or threatened with Damage if he did not vote? These Questions deserve no Answer, for it is enough that an armed Force had such a Tendency, what Effect soever it might have. But I must now ask Mr. W. in my Turn, whether he does not believe in his Conscience that such a Number of Forces was sufficient to over-awe the Election, if they pleased; and whether the same Way of Reasoning will not equally justify the Introduction of military Forces into every Borough of the united Kingdom, on the Day of Election, and even drawing them up under Arms before the Polling Place?

As to the List being named by the Minister, &c. Mr. W. says, that this is a Suggestion which, if it were true, is scarcely possible to be proved: And if it were proved, could not prejudice the Right of 50 or 60 Peers, in the Choice of those 16, nor the Right of those 16 in representing the Peerage of Scotland. — But pray, Sir, don't you think it would affect those, who made Use of this undue Influence, supposing it to be proved? You seem to be very cautious of touching upon that Head, and direct the whole Force of your Oratory against the declared Nullity of the Election; which is a Point beyond my Province, and my intruding into such an Affair would really be, as you elegantly phrase it, to anticipate the most essential Enquiries of the highest Judicature within this Kingdom. Let us therefore confine ourselves, if you please, to the Minister and his Agent; or (as you, perhaps, more properly style him) the Minister's Minister.

You demand, on this Head, by what Law, either positive or constructive, any Privy Counsellor of Great Britain is incapacitated to advise, or confer with the Peers of North Britain, in the previous Agreement of a List of 16 Peers, to be proposed as Candidates in the Election of Representatives for the Peerage of Scotland. (See p. 373.) — Why truly I know of no express Statute, by which they are thus incapacitated; and yet I am firmly persuaded that they ought not to intermeddle at all in Elections, either by advising, conferring, or writing such commendatory Letters as you mention; because Men in their Stations are generally qualified to talk and write with more Force than ordinary People. Nay, even supposing they should back their

their Advice with a little *undue Influence* (which is the Point at present in Question) I cannot recollect any *Statute* directly against it; and yet will any Man, even you yourself, pretend to say that it is not punishable by the *common Law of the Land*, as a *Crime in itself*, an Invasion of the *Freedom of Elections*, and tending to subvert the Foundations of our Government? Since you are now *reviewing the History of England*, (See p. 421.) I believe you will find, as you pass along, several Instances of *Impeachments against Ministers and their Agents*, for *packing of Parliaments*. Now what, I pray, is *packing a Parliament*, but *nominating the Persons to be chosen, and bribing the Electors to chuse them?*

I am strongly tempted, in this Place, to apply some other *Queries* very home to your own *Conscience*, concerning the Issue of the late *Election in Scotland*, upon a Supposition that no *undue Influence* had been used. But I must forbear; for I am not privileged, like yourself, to put Men to the *Question*, and search out the Truth of Things by such *rigid Examinations*.

However, you give these *unhappy Peers* to understand, that you are a *fair and generous Adversary*, by vouchsafing some of them a very good *Character*; nay, you are so gracious as to acknowledge that, *if it had been your Fate to have been a Peer of North Britain*, (what Pity, methinks, is it that you are not!) you could not have found it in your Heart to vote against them; unless it had appeared that they had *incorporated themselves in a List with improper Persons*; that is, I suppose, all Persons, who oppose the *Minister and his Agent*.

A Writer in the *Courant*, in his Reflections on the foregoing Paper, says: The proper Question in all these Cases, is this, — Shall the *Enemies of the Government* be permitted (and there is no Possibility of making any Law to restrain them,) shall they be at full Liberty to make Use of any *undue Influence*, suppose it to be only *advising, conferring, or writing recommendatory Letters* to procure such *Representatives* to be chosen, as they know to be disaffected to the present Government? And shall those, who have the Honour to serve the *Crown*, even in that high Station of *Privy-Counsellors*; shall it be criminal in them, when they see plainly, that the *Enemies of the Government* are using all their *Arts*, and practising every *undue Influence*, to procure such a *Parliament*, as shall endeavour to *destroy the present Establishment*; — shall it, I say, be criminal in them to *advise, confer, or write recommendatory Letters* to prevent such a *Parliament* being chosen? Shall their *high Stations* make this criminal? No, surely. That Man must have a very weak Head, or a very bad Heart, who will not confess it would be highly criminal in such

Men not to *interpose* at such a critical Time, by their *Advice*, &c. Highly criminal, even for this very Reason; because they are in *high Stations*; because, thereby, they are more *peculiarly constituted Guardians* of their Country; because those very *Stations* must qualify them to know the private Characters of Men, who are in the Interest of their Country, and who are fit to represent it, with more Truth and Certainty than ordinary People can pretend to.

Weekly Miscellany, Aug. 24. N° 89.

A Letter to a Country Justice of Peace, concerning the present State of Popery in and about London.

St. James's-Square, Aug. 12.

THE Reason I have not answered your Letter of the 6th of May sooner, was because I staid till I could give you some Satisfaction in relation to the Growth and Progress of Popery of late Years in and about these two great Cities.

I have now lying before me an Account of above 30 Mass Houses in London and Westminster, and have good Reason to think that I have not yet half the Number.

The Number of their Priests that generally reside in and near these two Cities, are at present known to be above 300, but they appear in so many Shapes, that it is difficult to find them out, only that great Numbers are daily sent over hither: A great many pretend to have Protections from foreign Ministers; and more act as openly as if they thought they wanted none.

As to the Methods they take of gaining Profelytes, these are some of them: They are always ready to slip into poor sick Families, and relieve them generously; this gives them an easy Passage to their Hearts, and they cannot but think the Religion of so charitable a Person must be the best; many are ruined by the Bait. They offer young Men just come out of their Prenticeships Money to set up with, without any Interest; and a good many unwary young People have been perverted by these Means: And a Person is ready to make Oath, that he has lately heard, not once or twice, Protestants publicly renouncing their Religion before not less than seven Popish Priests. They have a great many Popish Seminaries, in which they train up the brightest Youths they can meet with, to send over to their Colleges abroad; and not long since they attempted to debauch some out of one of our great Schools in this City; whether they succeeded or no the Master best knows.

As to your Questions, — Why the Laws are not put more rigorously in Execution against them? Why does not the Legislature take

take some Notice of them? Why do not the Clergy preach against them? Why do not they represent the State of Popery in their respective Parishes to their Diocesan, who would upon due Information, take such Methods as might put some Stop to this growing Evil? To all these Questions I can give you no other Answer, but that I presume these Things will be soon done, or ought to be.
I am, &c.

Universal Spectator, Aug. 24. N° 307.

Instructions for a modern Author.

IT is a just Observation of Mr. Bruyere, that it is as much a Trade to make a Book as to make a Clock; a Man must have a mechanical Experience as well as natural Wit to succeed in it.

The *Cacoethes scribendi*, or the Disease of Scribbling, is more contagious in the Kingdom of Great Britain than in any other Nation perhaps in the whole World: It takes its Rise from a certain Ambition of being thought a Wit, and may be known easily by Variety of Symptoms, which tho' not at first dangerous, soon grow too virulent for a Cure. Whoever therefore finds he cannot resist the Temptation of commencing Author, must first arm himself with a Kind of Philosophy of being above the Censure of the World; this is easily obtained from that natural Self-Opinion which Authors always entertain of their own Genius, and the Beauties which they, and none but they, can see in their initiatory Productions. This is only Proof against a certain ill-natur'd Set of People call'd Criticks, who are sure always to differ from the Sentiments of the Author: That Writer would have enough to do who troubled his Head with the extravagant Banter, little Jest, which are thrown out against him by a Sort of Men who damn Things at all Events; because they are not capable of judging of them.

When a Man is well fixed in this good-natur'd Opinion of himself, he has nothing to do but take Pen, Ink, and Paper, and write — But what? — No Matter; Politics or Poetry, History or Divinity, Physick or Metaphysics, are all the same to a Genius truly modern. Horace indeed advises an Author to consult what he is, or is not capable to perform; but every Gentleman who attempts to write, will pay, I don't doubt, a greater Deference to his own Genius, than the obsolete Maxims of a Critick quite out of Fashion, and almost out of Knowledge.

London Journal, Aug. 24. N° 791.

Farther Reflections on the Conduct of the antiministerial Writers.

WHEN national Subjects have been debated, and Demonstration hath ap-

peared against them, their Answer is, that the Ministerial Scribler is a low Creature; that he's a Pedagogue, an Attorney, or the Son of a Potatoe-Man in Ireland. (Vol. II. p. 70.) Thus, when Argument fails, they fold and call Names most strenuously; or instead of a Reply, draw a Man's Picture. (See p. 423.)

A He has a Gravity and a Sort of Ratiocination in his very Countenance; he has an inflexible Set of Muscles; the arterial Vesicles round his Mouth are broken by youthful Altercations, and have left two black Semicircles; or, as Milton says of the Devil, Deep scars of thunder had his face intrench'd.

This is call'd a Refutation of all that hath been advanced by the Writers for the Ministry, whom they charge with what they are constantly guilty of themselves, Bilinggate Ribaldry, and personal Scurrilities; but they don't seem to know the Meaning of the Words, personal Scurrilities: I will set them right.

C Those Words which are proper to express the Sense of what is quoted from an Adversary, are not personal: As for Instance, when I have quoted a Sentence from the Craftsman which is treasonable, and naturally tends to spread Sedition and raise Insurrections, then the Word Traytor is proper; then I may justly say, what doth the Traytor mean? For the Word Traytor is not then personal, but argumentative; that is, it arises from and relates to the Argument or Subject we are upon: D Not so, whether the Writer be a Man or a Woman, or neither Man nor Woman; whether his Face be round or square; or whether he be the Son of a Potatoe-Man, or a Taylor. These are personal Scurrilities, because they have no Relation to the Argument, and which no Men ever make use of as long as they have Argument on their Side.

F. OSBORNE.

Fog's Journal, Aug. 24. N° 204.

Mr. S—p—n's Speech in the H. of Commons, July 3, 1727, about the Civil List.

I Agree with the Hon. Person who spoke first, That on his Majesty's happy Accession, there ought to be no other Contention amongst us, than who shall most contribute to his Service, who should express their Duty and Loyalty in the most respectful and extensive Manner. But then I hope he will agree with me, that this is to be done with some Regard to those we represent; consistent with the Trust repos'd in us, and that Frugality, which this House is bound to use, whenever the Crown is pleas'd to call upon it, to exercise its great Power of giving Money.

G Now, I think we shall so far depart from this Rule of Frugality, as we exceed the Revenue granted to his late Majesty, whether

that Exceeding shall amount yearly to 93,000*l.* as computed at the highest by the Hon. Person, or to above 130,000*l.* as I have seen it more truly computed by another. For I remember that the yearly Sum of 700,000*l.* (tho' now thought too little) was not obtained for his late Majesty, without a long and solemn Debate; and it was allowed by every one that contended for it, to be an ample royal Revenue. Nor was it asked inconsiderately, and on a sudden; but on mature Deliberation, after the Queen's Civil List Branches were found deficient; it was asked after many Computations of every Charge requisite to support the Honour and Dignity of the Crown, and to maintain the present Royal Family: It was asked after duly weighing, what Provision would be sufficient to answer all the ordinary and extraordinary Occasions of the Civil Government, to answer all proper Augmentations of Salaries, all reasonable and charitable Pensions, all secret Services at Home and Abroad, necessary to carry on a just and wise Administration: It was asked by the Hon. Person himself, and others, who were entering into great Employments, who were going to taste of the Royal Bounty, and who therefore could not be suspected to have any Design of cramping his Majesty, by a too contracted and narrow Revenue.

Nor does the late Alteration in the Royal Family call for any Increase of Expence. For if the Establishment for the Queen should be enlarged, whose distinguished Character, and many Princely Virtues (taken Notice of in your Address) entitle her to all Degrees of Grandeur, which any former Queen Consort ever enjoy'd; I say, if her Establishment should be enlarged, I presume the Establishment for Prince Frederick will be much inferior to that settled on his present Majesty, when Prince of Wales. Besides, our ardent Wishes for his Majesty's constant Residence in these Kingdoms, and his Royal Intentions of making us a great and happy People, give us Hopes, that many personal, many particular Expences in the late Reign, especially those for frequent Journeys to Hanover, will be discontinued, and entirely cease.

Nor is it any Objection to the Reasoning of that Time, when the 700,000*l.* were granted to the late King, or to the Computations then made, that this Sum is said to have been found by the Experience of past Times, to be answerable to the Necessities of the Civil Government.

For this Experience could not be found in the Queen's Reign, because her Civil List Branches seldom amounted to 600,000*l.* commonly to about 550,000*l.* and sometimes to a very little above 500,000*l.* as appears by Accounts formerly laid before this House, and I will not suppose those Accounts, which were brought from the Treasury to be otherwise

than true, in Regard to my Hon. Friend — I ask Pardon — I should have said, the Hon. Person, for there is no Friendship betwixt us. But he must give me Leave to observe, That when he asserts her Civil List Branches amounted to above 700,000*l.* yearly, he can only mean the gross, and not the neat Produce, which is a very uncandid and fallacious way of arguing.

A Tho' her Revenues were so low, yet she called upon her Parliament but once in a Reign of above 13 Years, to pay the Debts contracted in her Civil Government; and it is a Justice due to the Memory of that excellent Princess, to remind Gentlemen of the unparalleled Instances of her Piety and Generosity, which occasioned those Debts. She gave the first Fruits and Tenths arising now (as the Hon. Person says) to 19000*l.* a Year, for the Augmentation of the Maintenance of the poor Clergy. She gave 5000*l.* a Year out of the Post-Office to the Duke of Marlborough: She suffered 700*l.* a Week to be likewise charged on the Post-Office for the publick Service, and by that Concession lost a vast Sum; the additional Duty then producing only 8000*l.* a Year. She gave several 100,000*l.* for building the Castle of Blenheim. She allowed Prince Charles of Denmark 4000*l.* a Year. She sustained great Losses by the Tin Contract. She supported the poor Palatines. These, with many other Royal Bounties* (which escape my present Remembrance) were the Reasons that brought her under a Necessity of asking for 500,000*l.* But she was so sensible of the Inconvenience, and so determined never to apply to her Parliament again in the like Manner, that she ordered a considerable Reduction to be made of her Civil Government Expences. I have seen a Scheme of that Reduction, as it was actually settled a little before her Death, and intended to commence the Lady Day following. I will only name three or four Articles. E The Cofferer's Office Payments were reduced from 85000*l.* to 75000*l.* The Allowances for foreign Ministers from 75000*l.* to 30000*l.* Pensions and Bounties from 87490 odd Pounds, to 60000*l.* Secret Services from 27000*l.* to 20000*l.* a Sum surprizingly small! when compared with the late Disbursements on that Head. In short, the whole yearly Expences were designed to be reduced to 459941*l.* and that would have been done without eclipsing the Glory of the Crown, which some Gentlemen so loudly affirm, cannot now be maintained under almost a double Appointment.

From hence it appears plainly, that this Argument of the Experience of past Times, can have no Reference to the Queen's Reign. It must therefore be applied (tho' put in the Plural Number) to the late Administration only; and I confess, if the same Management was to be continued, if the same Ministers were to be again employed, a Million a Year would not

* She gave 100,000*l.* to the Uses of the War.

not be sufficient to carry on the exorbitant Expenses, so often, and so justly complained of in this House. For it is notorious, it is fresh in all our Memories, that besides the yearly 700000*l.* there have been many occasional Taxes, many excessive Sums raised, and they have been all sunk in that bottomless Gulp of secret Service. First, the memorable 250000*l.* were raised (in Defiance of the antient Parliamentary Methods) to secure us from the Apprehensions of a Swedish Invasion. Then the two Insurance Offices were erected in as irregular a Manner, by a Bill brought into this House (at the latter End of a Session, and after the Committee of Supply had been closed) by the Hon. Person, on his Return into Power, and those Bubbles paid near 300000*l.* for their Charters. Then a new Scene of Affairs opening in Sweden, changed our Enmity into an Alliance; there was a Subsidy of 72000*l.* implicitly granted to make good some secret Engagement with that Crown. At the same Time near 24000*l.* were given for burning two Merchant Ships arrived from infected Places. But tho' the Goods, as well as the Ships, were paid for by this House, that they might (without Injury to the Owners) be destroyed for the publick Safety, yet most of them were privately conveyed into the Counties adjacent to the Port where the Ships lay, and sold there. Then soon after a Sum of 500000*l.* was demanded and granted for the Payment of the Civil List Debts: On which Occasion his late Majesty declared in his Message, that he was resolved to cause a Retrenchment to be made of his Expenses for the future. But notwithstanding that Resolution, in less than 4 Years (the Necessities of the Government having rendered the promised Retrenchment impracticable) there was a new Demand, and a new Grant of 500000*l.* more, to discharge new Incumbrances. I might mention too the Spanish Ships which were taken in the famous Mediterranean Sea-Fight, and (as we have Reason to believe) sold for a considerable Sum. Nor is it possible to forget the 120,000*l.* which we could only be told the last Session (in a general unexplained Article) were secretly disposed of, for the publick Utility, for the Conservation of the Peace of Europe, and for the Security of the Commerce, and Navigation of Great Britain.

After all these and other extraordinary Supplies (I am informed) there yet remains a Debt in the Civil Government of above 600,000*l.* If so, surely there must have been a most egregious Neglect of Duty, to say no worse; there must have been a strange Spirit of Extravagance somewhere. And it is amazing, this Extravagance should happen under the Conduct of Persons pretending to surpass all their Predecessors in the Knowledge and Care of the publick Revenue: But we are not to wonder, that the World has been very free in its Censures, since none of these Sums have

been accounted for, since they have been employed in Services not fit to be owned. None but those, who were in the Secret, and had the Disposal of them, can refute the Reflections, made without Doors, not only on the Ministry, but even on both Houses of Parliament.—I must say no more—But I heartily wish that Time (the great Discoverer of bidden Truths, and concealed Iniquities) may produce a List of all such (if any such there were) who have been perverted from their publick Duty, by private Pensions, who have been the hired Slaves, and the corrupt Instruments of a profuse, and vain-glorious Administration. If there have been none such, than the whole Weight, the whole Guilt of the late Mismanagements lies on the Ministers themselves.

But it seems to be Matter of universal Joy to the Nation, that the Case is like to be altered. We hope we are arrived at a Day of better OEconomy, we hope such Practices will be so far from being imitated, that they will be detested. Nor can any one entertain the least Doubt of this, when he considers a Prince is ascending the Throne, who will choose a knowing, faithful and frugal Ministry; who will not permit his domestick or foreign Affairs to be negotiated by Bribery, and Corruption, for Want of Sufficiency and Skill in Politicks; whose Wisdom will enable him, and whose Goodness will incline him, not only to inspect the Management of his Civil List Branches, but in Justice to his Parliaments, and in Compassion to his People, to direct and require a due and exact Disposition of all the other publick Funds, according to their respective Appropriations.

Now, in Consequence of this most just Notion of his Majesty's Frugality (which amongst other his innumerable Virtues, endears him so much to his Subjects) I hope I may, without Offence, propose the Addition of some Words to your Question, that may restrain it to 700,000*l.* and in this I as much consult the Service of his Majesty, and the Honour and Dignity of the Crown, as those, who are for granting the Funds without any Restriction. For (in my humble Opinion) the voting a greater Sum than was settled on his late Majesty, is only voting an Indemnity, is voting at least in Favour of Ministers, whose Conduct (as I have already hinted) if laid before you, and duly examined, would perhaps rather deserve your Censure, than Approbation.

Besides, the Surplus of these Branches is appropriated to the Sinking Fund; and that, I thought, had been a sacred Depositum, reserved for the gradual Discharge of the National Debt. I thought it would have been look'd on as a Sort of Sacrilege, to have diverted the least Part of it (on any Pretence whatsoever) from its original Uses; and it is as surprizing to me, that the Hon. Person should be for destroying his own darling Project;

jest; for pulling down the boasted Monument of his Glory; as it may be to others, that I am for supporting any Scheme of his, which might have transmitted his Name with Advantage to Posterity.

If his Majesty was rightly apprized of these Circumstances, he would doubtless rather be content with a clear annual Revenue of 700,000*l.* than suffer his first Demand of Money, (by any precipitate Proof of our Zeal) to carry the least Appearance of being burthensome to his People, who have long laboured under the Pressure of exorbitant Taxes. For he has been graciously pleased to signify from the Throne, his fixed Resolution, by all possible Means to merit their Love and Affection, which he shall always look upon as the best Support and Security of his Crown. I will detain, you, Sir, no longer, but desire you would conclude your Question with these Words; In like Manner as they were granted and continued to his late Majesty, which may make up the clear yearly Sum of 700,000*l.*

Craftsman, Aug. 24. N^o 425.

Of the Scots Election of 16 Peers, D. Lauderdale, the Union, &c. in Answer to Osborne.

THIS learned Gentlewoman does not pretend to enter into the Merits of the Cause, but levels all her Artillery against one poor Paragraph in one of my Papers, concerning the Oppression of Scotland under the D. of Lauderdale; (see p. 731.)

This Paragraph contains no more than a general Observation that Ministers, who aim at arbitrary Power, generally begin with oppressing Scotland, as the weakest Part of the Island, that they may be the better able to manage England afterwards. As an Instance of this, I mentioned the Case of Scotland, under Lauderdale's Administration, in the Reign of K. Charles II.

Upon this, Mrs. Osborne throws herself into a terrible Passion, cries out *Treason*, and tells the World that the Scots are invited to come into England with an Army, to save themselves and us; because I happened to call them a brave People, who have often proved our Deliverers, instead of being made the Instruments of our Slavery.

In Order to prevent this Scots Invasion, Mrs. Osborne puts them very gravely in Mind of their present, happy Condition, and the great Advantages they got over us by the Union; which nothing could have obtain'd from the English but the Consideration of their own Safety; for she tells them, from Bp. Burnet, that they enjoy near the eleventh Part of the Legislature, in Return for less than the fortieth Part of the publick Taxes; besides many other great Advantages. But, for God's Sake, what is all this to the Purpose?

Is the good Bargain, which the People of Scotland were so wise, or so lucky as to make at the Union, any Reason for their quiet Acquiescence under ill Treatment for ever afterwards? Besides, this is not merely a Scots Affair; for the Votes of the Scots Members conclude the People of England as much as those of our own Representatives; and therefore since they make up so large a Proportion of the Legislature and supreme Judicature, particular Care ought to be taken that such Men are not elected, by undue Influence, as will run blindly into all the Measures of a Court; for, in that Case, the Union itself will prove the greatest Curse, that ever befel this Nation; and yet this seems to have been the View of some Ministers, even since the Union. Bp. Burnet tells us that the Act of Parliament, for dissolving the Scots Privy Council, was oppos'd by the Court, with all their Strength, hoping by that Influence Elections might be so managed as to serve all the Ends of the Court. In another Place, he says, that the chief Ministers seem'd to have laid it down for a Maxim, not to be departed from, to look carefully to Elections in Scotland; that the Members return'd from thence might be in an intire Dependence on them; and be either Whigs, or Tories, as they should shift Sides.

But since Mrs. Osborne hath display'd the Advantages of the Union from Bp. Burnet, she must give me Leave to acquaint the Publick, from the same Author, to whom this great Event was principally owing.

That, which advanced the Design most effectually, (says he) and without which it could not have succeeded, was that a considerable Number of Noblemen and Gentlemen, who were in no Engagements with the Court, (on the contrary, they had been disoblig'd and turn'd out of great Posts, and some very lately) declared for it. These kept themselves very close and united, and seem'd to have no other Interest, but that of their Country, and were for that Reason called the *Squadrons*. The Chief of these were the Marquess of Tweeddale, the Earls of Rothes, Roxburgh, Hadington and Maribmont; they were in great Credit, because they had no visible Bias on their Minds; ill Usage had provok'd them rather to oppose the Ministry, than to concur in any Thing, where the chief Honour would be carried away by others. When they were spoke to by the Ministry they answer'd coldly and with great Reserves, so it was expected they would have concurred in the Opposition; and they being between 20 and 30, if they had set themselves against the Union, the Design must have miscarried. But they continued still silent, till the first Division of the House oblig'd them to declare, and then they not only joined in it, but promoted it effectually, and

and with Zeal. There were great and long Debates managed on the Side of the Union by the Earls of Seafield and Stair for the Ministry, and of the Squadron by the Earls of Roxburgh and Marcbmont; and against it by the Dukes of Hamilton and Arbol, and the Marquess of Annandale.

As to Lauderdale, I am charged with intending a Parallel between that most wicked of all Ministers (as Mrs. Osborne styles him) and a certain noble Peer of Scotland, now in Power, whose Character is the very Reverse of Lauderdale's.

In Order to prove this, she flies to Bp. Burnet's History, and from thence collects several Circumstances of Lauderdale's Character, which have no immediate Relation to the present Times, and are no more to the present Purpose, than if Mrs. Osborne had told us, that the D. of Lauderdale made a very ill Appearance; that his Hair was red, and his Tongue too big for his Mouth, which made him bedew all that he talk'd to; with several other Circumstances of that Minister, to be met with in the same Historian. Mr. Tindal tells us that the Bishop is justly blamed for this Part of that Nobleman's Character, which consisted only of his personal Defects; and, perhaps, when we consider the Transactions between them, he may be suspected of a little Partiality, in other Respects. I shall therefore conclude with Archdeacon Echard's Character of the same Minister, without making any Application.—Let the stricken Deer go weep.

The Enlargement of the King's Power and Grandeur, in this Kingdom, was much owing to the Management of the present Commissioner Lauderdale; who had been formerly as much for depressing, as he was now for exalting the Prerogative. From the Time of his Commission, the Scots are said to calculate the Date of all the ensuing Inconveniences in this, and the following Reign; for having there undertaken to make the King's Power absolute, he strain'd the royal Prerogative to all Kind of Excesses, and assumed to himself a Sort of lawless Administration of Affairs; the Exercise of which was supposed to be granted to him, upon the large Promises he had made; and more apprehending other Men's officious interfering, than distrusting his own Abilities, he in Time took Care to make himself his Majesty's sole Informer, as well as his sole Secretary; and by that Means, not only upon Pretence of the King's Prerogative, the Affairs of Scotland were disposed of in the Court of England, without any Notice taken of the King's Council in Scotland; but strict Observation was also made of all Scotsmen, that came to the English Court; and to attempt an Address and Access to his Majesty, otherwise than by Lauderdale's Mediation, was

to hazard his perpetual Resentment. By these Ways he gradually made himself the almost only significant Person in the whole Scottish Nation; and, in Scotland itself, procured to himself that sovereign Authority as to name the Privy Counsellors; to place and remove the Lords of the Session and Exchequer; to grant Gifts and Pensions; to levy and disband Forces; to appoint General Officers; and to transact all Matters of Importance.

Grubstreet Journal, Aug. 29. N^o 244.

The last Will and Testament of Jonathan Wimble, Esq;

I Jonathan Wimble, of Rats-Hall, in the County of Essex, Esq; being of perfect Mind and sound Memory (thanks be to the Bedlam Physician) but of a most crazy and hyppish Constitution, having from Time out of Mind been engaged in all the Tribes of Carminatives, Stomachics, Balsamics, Diuretics, Emollients, Restoratives, Detergents, Diaphoretics, Emetics, Cataplasms, Sternutatories, Gargarisms, Lotions, and Embrocations, in order to the mending of my corporal OEconomy, and all (hitherto however) to very little Purpose, do, in order the more effectually to impede any Animosities after my Decease, make this my last Will and Testament, in Manner and Form following.

I Imprimis, I do, as a rare, raw-bon'd Fellow, recommend myself as a proper Skeleton to the Anatomists; and do hereby injoin my Executor, not to detain me when demanded by any Person of known Experience in the Faculty, or secretly to deposit my Body below Ground, upon Pain of forfeiture of all my Bequests.

E This Part of my Will first duly executed, and my Orbo's Copper Medal sold, in order to the Discharging of my Creditors; I give and bequeath my Messuage of Rats-Hall, with the five Acres of arable Land adjoining, unto my dear Brother Samuel, being well assured of his Veneration for Plow-Shares, and the great Pleasure he takes in attending a Dung-Cart.

F Item, I give and bequeath unto my very ingenious and much respected Friend and Virtuoso B. M. Esq; all that my valuable Collection of Cormorants Eggs, Spiders Eyes, Earwigs, Butter-flies, &c. together with the Anatomy of a Fox, (which did infinite Damage to the Poultry) and my Long-tail'd Titmouse. And whereas my younger Brother Charles lately spoke disrespectfully of Insects and Anima'cules, stiling me also, contrary to his Allegiance, a strange, whimsical, trifling Philosopher, for pretending to discover the Sex of a Cockatrice; I do hereby disinherite, and wholly cut him off from all my intended Benefactions, by leaving him no more than my

my *Witticisms* since *Lady-Day*, 1732, and my *Dissertation on Black-Pudding*; reserving even the Cloaths on my Back to be sold for the purchasing the Collection of Fleas, now in the Cabinet of ——— for the sole Use and Contemplation of the said *B. M.*

Item, I give and bequeath unto the most Hippocratical and Galenical Benjamin Pair-a-se, Apothecary, my Powder of Pulices Aquatici, one dry'd Toad, a Pound and Half of Album Græcum, together with a stuffed Alligator, my *Treatises on Mistletoe and Indian Cabbage*, as also my curious Cream for my good Country-Womens Physiognomies.

And as to my Caterpillars, Grass-hoppers, &c. I give and bequeath them to the worthy and learned Society of ——— Coll. Camb. And I do hereby also give and bequeath, in Addition to the late famous Dr. Woodward's Legacy, all that my curious Collection of Pebbles and Egg shells, requiring the said Bequest to be pay'd within 3 Months after my Decease.

And as to the rest of my Antediluvian Prodigies and other Curiosities not above specified, of what Kind soever, as also my Danish Puppy, I give and bequeath them unto my dear Friend *B—— M——*, whom I make, constitute, and appoint whole and sole Executor and Residuary Legatee of this my last Will and Testament, hereby revoking all former Wills by me made.

JONATHAN WIMBLE.

Signed, &c. in the
Presence of, &c.

Fog's Journal, Aug. 31. N^o 304.

*Extract from a Pamphlet, concerning the Civil List, and the 115000*l.* demanded as a Deficiency, and granted as an Arrear, in 1728.*

THE Case stands thus: By the Act of the first of the King, for the better Support of his Majesty's Household, and of the Honour and Dignity of the Crown, his Majesty is to enjoy all the Civil List Revenues, with the 120,000*l.* out of the aggregate Fund, without Account for any Surplusses, over and above 800,000*l.* per Ann. however considerable they may happen to be in any Year; and yet the Publick, by a Clause in the same Act, is to make good *Deficiencies*; or as the Clause for giving the 115,000*l.* has construed it, any *Arrears* of these Revenues standing out and not paid into the *Exchequer*, at *Midsummer-Day*, to compleat 800,000*l.* per Ann.

Now considering this Case on the Foot of a *Deficiency* only, the Disadvantage to the Publick will appear to be very great, the most considerable Branches of the Civil List Reve-

nues are in the Nature of them, liable to vary from Year to Year; the Interruptions, or Decay of Trade and other Accidents must necessarily lessen the Produce of the *Customs*. Other Causes may in the same Year lessen the Produce of the *Excise*. The Publick is to make good the *Deficiencies*, and consequently the Taxes on the People are to increase as their Losses and Misfortunes do; on the contrary, the Crown cannot in any Event, receive less than 800,000*l.* per Ann. and may often have the Benefit of a *Surplus*.

If then the Disadvantage to the People is so great, by their being only obliged to make good casual and real *Deficiencies*, how much greater must it be upon the present Construction of the Clause, by which it is asserted that the Publick is obliged to compleat whatever Sum is wanting of the full 800,000*l.* actually received into the *Exchequer*, the very *Midsummer-Day* the Year ends? Altho' there are *Arrears* standing out in Bills of Exchange, Money in the Receivers and Collectors Hands, more than sufficient to make up this Sum.

The first Step taken in this Affair was by a Motion of the Secretary of the Treasury, for an Address to the King that the proper Officers might be directed to lay before the House of Commons an Account of the Produce of the Civil List Revenues within the Year from *Midsummer* 1727, to *Midsummer*, 1728, &c.

Tho' the Design of this Motion was easily apprehended, yet it was a Surprize to many Gentlemen that it should be made so late in the Session, and after the Recess of *Easter*, and when it was generally understood that there was no further Demand of Money to be made; but the Surprize of the Gentlemen was still greater, when the Accounts were laid before the House, and it appeared, that, contrary to the Words of the Address, and the King's Answer, they were made up not upon the real, Net Produce of the Revenue, but upon what was called the *Net Receipt* within the Year, and that this material Alteration was made by Directions from the Treasury, and by Letters writ to the several Offices by the same Gentlemen, who had moved the Address for the Produce.

By the Account brought in and sign'd by the Secretary of the Treasury, the 115,000*l.* is stated as a *Deficiency*. In the *Resolution* and in the Clause of *Appropriation*, it is called an *Arrear*, and an *Arrear* to be replaced and refunded. There was so far from being a *Deficiency*, that the Produce of the Year was 912,649*l.* of which 708,368*l.* was actually received in Money in London before *Midsummer*, 1728. And the greatest Part of the rest must have been paid within six Weeks, or sooner, after *Midsummer*, 1728; so that the Crown gives Credit to its own Estate for a few Weeks only; whereas by this Clause,

according to the most plausible Construction, which has been endeavour'd to be put upon it, the Publick is to lend his Majesty 115,000 l. without Interest during his Life; and how unlikely this Money is to be ever replaced without a manifest Injury to the Servants and other Creditors of the Crown at the Time of the Demise, need not be explained.

Craftsman, Aug. 31. N^o 426.

Remarks on a Pamphlet, entitled, The Ministry and Government of Great Britain vindicated, &c.

SIR,

PART of a Pamphlet entitled, *The Ministry and Government of Great Britain vindicated, &c.* having been lately retail'd in the *Free Briton*, I had the Curiosity to give it a Reading; and tho' nobody can think it deserves any Reply from the Author of an *Enquiry into the Conduct of our Domestick Affairs*, &c. (to which it is call'd an *Answer*) some cursory Remarks may not be improper.

The Author of the *Enquiry* having observed that the last two Millions, remitted to the South Sea Company, was a Bounty granted, by Way of Composition, for their giving up the Bank Contract; the *Vindicator* gives us the following Answer, without any Hesitation. — 'Why truly, Sir, it was very proper for the Government to interpose, and not let publick Credit be destroy'd by a Suit between two such great Bodies, and of such vast Moment; and next to the Inability of the Company, there cannot be a better Reason assign'd for this Remission, than the preserving the Bank of England; whose Wealth and Credit would have been greatly impair'd and diminish'd, if They had been compell'd to carry that Agreement into Execution.'

This bears the highest Reflection against the Hon. Gentleman, whose Ministry our Author undertakes to vindicate; for if publick Credit would have been destroy'd by a Law-Suit between the Bank and the South Sea Company; or if the former could not have executed their Agreement, without a great Diminution of their Wealth and Credit; it is natural to ask why such a Contract was ever made, and who it was, that laid the Foundation of so much Mischief. This is the very Charge brought against him by his Enemies; who have often alledg'd that he negotiated the Bank Contract with no other View than to establish himself in Power, and afterwards found Means to dissolve it, when it had serv'd his own private Purposes, to the Ruin of Thousands.

The next Point worthy Observation, is our Author's frank Concession, that the Subsidies of 72,000 l. and 8,000 l. paid to Swe-

den, in 1721 and 1723, were intended to secure the Possession of Bremen and Verden. The Author of the *Enquiry* had only glanc'd at this; but our *Vindicator of the Ministry* makes no Scruple to avow it, and tells us without any Disguise 'that if the conciliating the Court of Sweden was any Ingredient in the Subsidy, it was so far wisely laid out, and calculated to prevent the ill Consequences you seem to apprehend, (addressing himself to the supposed Author) and established that lasting Peace and Friendship, which hath ever since subsisted between the two Crowns.'

I cannot agree with this Writer in any one Part of his Argument. In the first Place, it is my Opinion that the British Treasure ought not to be expended for the Acquisition, or Security, of any foreign Dominions, not annex'd to the Crown of Great Britain. Secondly, it seems ridiculous to suppose that our driving a Bargain with the Court of Sweden, upon such an Account, could have any great Effect in conciliating a lasting Friendship between the two Crowns. And lastly, the Consequence, as I apprehend, hath proved the contrary; for notwithstanding that lasting Peace and Friendship, of which our Author boasts, as the Effect of that Subsidy, we have been oblig'd to give the Court of Sweden several refreshing Fees since; particularly, upon their Accession to the glorious and ever-memorable Treaty of Hanover, which was purchased by us at the Expence of a large Fleet sent to the Baltick, and a Subsidy of 50,000 l. per An. for three Years.

Let us now proceed to our Author's wise Observation on the Increase of the Civil List.

'The Number of the Royal Family, says he, was the Motive, which induced the Parliament to make this Addition to the Civil List; and it hath had a very good Effect, no Deficiency having happened therein, during his present Majesty's Reign. — A Demand was, indeed, made the following Year of the Sum of 115,000 l. The great Charges of a Coronation, and other Expences incident to a new King, occasioned the desiring this present Supply.'

This Account of the famous 115,000 l. is entirely new, and deserves particular Notice; for that Sum was first demanded, under the Pretence of a Deficiency in the Civil List Funds; but when it appeared, upon Examination, that a much larger Sum was actually standing out in Arrears, which would soon come into the Exchequer, that Pretence was given up, and the Money granted by Way of Arrear. There was, indeed, a Rumour about Town, some Time before the Parliament met, that a large Sum would be demanded, in the ensuing Session, to defray the Charges of the Coronation; but that Report was fully expos'd in your Paper, and the Coronation

nation was never mentioned either within Doors, or without, as any Motive to the Demand, or Grant of *that Money*, till our *Author* obliged us with his *secret History*.

One of his Arguments, in Favour of *standing Armies*, is equally prudent and honest.

'The *Militia* (*says he*) till of late Years, supply'd the Want of *regular Troops*; but is now grown uselefs and burthensome to the People; and however plausible in itself a Proposal to render it useful may be, it is not easy to determine, in our present divided Circumstances, what Consequences might arise from having the *Body of the People* armed, without a sufficient Power in the *Crown* to balance it.'

Is not this a plain Insinuation that the Intent of keeping up a *standing Army*, in Times of Peace, is to bridle the People; and that his Majesty cannot depend upon their Affections?—The *Ministry* and *Government* are highly obliged to him for such a Vindication.

He tells us it is *not his Intention* to enter into a Discussion of the Management of our foreign Affairs. But pray why not? Since the Stress of the Argument, concerning our late extraordinary Expenses, as stated in the *Enquiry*, depends in a great Measure upon the Conduct of *foreign Affairs*, as represented in *Politics on both Sides*; and therefore *that Point* ought to be considered first; for till it is made evident that the Management of *foreign Affairs* hath been misrepresented, the greatest Part of the *Enquiry* will remain in its full Strength; and the Charge of having wasted near 24 Millions, since the Year 1720, must stick upon *those* against whom it was alledg'd.

He makes a general Observation, indeed, 'That when a *Minister* hath acted according to the best of his Judgment, upon the Appearances at the Time of Action subsisting, he ought not to be blamed for *those Events*, which did not take their Rise from any Counsels of his.' But this is merely begging the Question, and remains to be proved.

As to the present Distractions in *Europe*, he ascribes them entirely to the late Conjunction of the two Branches of the House of *Bourbon*, and makes one Remark upon it, which I must not pass over in Silence, *viz.*

'*That Union* is so natural, so intirely agreeable to the vast Designs of the Crown of *France*, and the Haughtiness of the *Spanish Nation*, that we need not search any farther into the Causes which produced it. We have fenced and guarded against it as long as possible; and it is more to be wondered at that *such an Alliance* could be diverted so long, than that it should take Place at last.

Now, if *this Union* was so natural and agreeable to the Views and Dispositions of the two Crowns, it was certainly our Interest to fence and guard against it, as long as possible; but I am afraid it will appear that we rather promoted it, by dividing *Spain* from the *Emperor*, and driving *France* into the Arms of the former.

I cannot quit this Subject, without taking Notice of a very remarkable Inconsistency between our present *Vindicator*, and the great Mr. *Walsingham*; who was so far from apprehending an Alliance between *France* and *Spain* to be a *natural Union*, that he treated you with Contempt, about two Years ago, for entertaining such a Suspicion. 'The Interests of *France* and *Spain* (*said he*) are so far incompatible, that the *Pope* and *Turk* might as well be expected to join in a War, for the utter Subversion of the *Protestant Religion*.' (See Vol. I. p. 224.)—He then added, by Way of Interrogation, 'if the Crown of *Spain* had any Claims, any Demands upon the *Emperor* in *Italy*, can it be thought that this would unite the *French* and *Spaniards* together? Would the Court of *France* think it worth their Trouble even to take away Power from the House of *Austria*, if it were merely to add to the *Spanish Power*? Or are not the *French* and *Spaniards* naturally jealous of each other, as either of them can be of the House of *Austria*? And can it then be thought that they will ever unite, when their Interests always must be different?' E

I shall leave *these two learned Gentlemen* to settle the Difference between themselves, and desire them to let us know on whose Judgment we are to rely in this Affair.

I am, Sir, &c.

ERRAT. P. 424. Col. 2. L. 2. from the Bottom, read Pretences to Virility.

MESSIAH;

MESSIAH: A sacred Eclogue. In Imitation of Virgil's *Pollio*. Extracted from Mr. Pope's Poems.

YE nymphs of Solyma! begin the song:
To heav'nly themes sublimer strains belong.
The mossy fountains, and the sylvan shades,
The dreams of Pindus, and th' Aonian maids,
Delight no more.—O thou, my voice inspire,
Who touch'd Isaiah's hollow'd lips with fire!
Rept into future times, the bard begun,
A virgin shall conceive, a virgin bear a son!
From Jesse's root behold a branch arise,
Whose sacred flow'r with fragrance fills the skies.
Th' eternal spirit o'er its leaves shall move,
And on its top descends the mystick dove.
Ye heavens! from high the dewy nectar pour,
And in soft silence shed the kindly show'r!
The sick and weak the healing plant shall aid,
From storms a shelter, and from heat a shade.
All crimes shall cease, and ancient fraud shall fail,
Returning justice lift aloft her scale;
Peace o'er the world her olive wand extend,
And white rob'd innocence from heav'n descend.
Swift fly the years, and rise th' expected morn!
Oh! spring to light! auspicious babe, be born!
See nature hastes her earliest wreaths to bring,
With all the incense of the breathing spring!
See lofty Lebanon his head advance!
See nodding forests on the mountains dance!
See spicy clouds from lowly Saron rise,
And Carmel's flow'ry top perfumes the skies!
Hark! a glad voice the lonely desert cheers,
Prepare the way! A God, a God appears!
A God, a God, the vocal hills reply,
The rocks proclaim th' approaching deity.
Lo! earth receives him from the bending skies!
Sink down, ye mountains; and ye vallies rise!
With beads declin'd, ye cedars, homage pay!
Be smooth, ye rocks; ye rapid floods give way!
The Saviour comes, by ancient bards foretold;
Hear him ye deaf, and all ye blind, behold!
He from thick films shall purge the visual ray,
And on the sightless eye-ball pour the day:
'Tis he th' obstructed paths of sound shall clear,
And bid new musick charm th' unfolding ear:
The dumb shall sing, the lame his crutch forego,
And leap exulting like the bounding roe.
No sigh, no murmur, the wide world shall hear,
From ev'ry face he wipes off ev'ry tear:
In adamant chains shall death be bound,
And hell's grim tyrant feel th' eternal wound.
As the good shepherd tends his fleecy care,
Seeks freshest pasture, and the purest air,
Explores the lost, the wand'ring sheep directs;
By day o'ersees them, and by night protects;
The tender lambs he raises in his arms,
Feeds from his hand, and in his bosom warms;
Thus shall mankind his guardian care engage,
The promis'd father of the future age.
No more shall nation against nation rise,
Or ardent warriors meet with hateful eyes,

Or fields with gleaming steel be cover'd o'er,
The brazen trumpets kindle rage no more;
But useless lances into scythes shall bend,
And the broad faulchion in a plough-share end.
Then palaces shall rise; the joyful son
Shall finish what the short-liv'd fire begun;
Their vines a shadow to their race shall yield,
And the same hand that sow'd, shall reap the field.

The swain in barren deserts with surprise
Sees lillies spring, and sudden verdure rise,
And starts, amidst the thirsty wilds to bear
New falls of water murmur'ing in his ear.
On rifted rocks, the Dragon's late abodes,
The green reed trembles, and the bulrush nods.
Whist sandy vallies, once perplex'd with thorn,
The spicy fir and shapely box adorn;
To leafless shrubs the flow'ring palms succeed,
And od'rous myrtle to the noisome weed.
The lambs with wolves shall graze the verdant mead,

And boys in flow'ry bands the tyger lead:
The steer and lyon at one crib shall meet,
And harmless serpents lick the pilgrim's feet.
The smiling infant in his hand shall take
The crested basilisk, and speckled snake,
Pleas'd the green lustre of the scales survey,
And with their forked tongue and pointless sting
shall play.

Rise, crown'd with light, imperial Salem rise,
Exalt thy tow'ry bead, and lift thy eyes!
See a long race thy spacious courts adorn;
See future sons and daughters yet unborn,
In crowding ranks on ev'ry side arise,
Demanding life, impatient for the skies!
See barb'rous nations at thy gates attend,
Walk in thy light, and in thy temple bend!
See thy bright altars throng'd with prostrate
kings,

And heap'd with products of Sabæan springs!
For thee Idume's spicy forests blow,
And seeds of gold in Ophir's mountains glow!
See heav'n its sparkling portals wide display,
And break upon thee in a flood of day!
No more the rising sun shall gild the morn,
Nor ev'ning Cynthia fill her silver horn,
But lost, dissolv'd in thy superior rays,
One tide of glory, one unclouded blaze
O'erflow thy courts: the Light himself shall shine
Reveal'd, and God's eternal day be thine!
The seas shall waste, the skies in smoke decay,
Rocks fall to dust, and mountains melt away;
But fix'd his word, his saving pow'r remains;
Thy realm for ever lasts; thy own Messiah
reigns!

CONTENTMENT.

By the late Dean Parnell.

LOVELY, lasting Peace of mind,
Sweet delight of human kind,
Heavenly born, and bred on high,
To crown the favourites of the sky
With more of happiness below,
Than victors in triumph know;
M m m

W. Lister,

*Whither, O whither art thou fled
To lay thy meek contented head?
What happy region dost thou please
To make the seat of calms and ease.*

Ambition searches all its sphere
Of pomp and state, to find thee there;
Encreasing avarice wou'd find
Thy presence in its gold enshrin'd;
The bold advent'rer ploughs his way,
Through rocks amidst the foaming sea,
To gain thy love, and then perceives,
Thou wert not in the seas and waves;
The silent heart, whom grief assails,
Treads soft and lonesome o'er the vales;
Sees dafies open, rivers run,
And seeks (as I have vainly done)
Amusing thought; but learns to know,
That solitude's a nurse of woe.
No real happiness is found,
In trailing purple o'er the ground;
Or in a soul exalted high,
To range the circuit of the sky,
Converse with stars above, and know
All nature in its forms below;
The rest it seeks, in seeking dies,
And doubts at last for knowledge rise.
Lovely, lasting Peace appear!
This world itself, if thou art here,
Is once again with Eden blest,
And man contains it in his breast.

'Twas thus, as under shade I stood,
I sung my wishes to the wood;
And lost in thought, no more perceiv'd
The branches whisper as they wav'd;
It seem'd as if the quiet place
Confess'd the presence of the Grace;
When thus she spoke—Go rule thy will,
Bid thy wild passions all be still,
Know God—and bring thy heart to know
The joys which from religion flow;
Then every grace shall prove its guest,
And I'll be there to crown the rest.
Oh! by yonder mossy seat,
In my hours of sweet retreat,
Might I thus my soul employ,
With thoughts of gratitude and joy,
Rais'd as antient prophets were,
In heavenly vision, praise and prayer;
Pleasing all men, hurting none,
Pleas'd, and blest with God alone.
Then while the gardens take my sight
With all the colours of delight,
While silver waters glide along,
To please my ear, and court my song,
I'll lift my voice, and tune my string,
And Thee, great source of nature, sing.
The sun that walks his airy way,
To light the world and give the day,
The moon that shines with borrow'd light,
The stars that gild the gloomy night,
The seas that roll unnumber'd waves,
The wood that spreads its shady leaves,
The field whose ears conceal the grain,
The yellow treasure of the plain,

*All of these, and all I see,
Wou'd be sung, and sung by me;
They speak their Maker as they can,
But want and ask the tongue of man.
Go, search among your idle dreams,
Your busy or your vain extremes,
And find a life of equal bliss;
Or own the next begun in this.*

Ode on the Marriage of the Duke of Portland,
and Lady Margaret Harley. (See p. 386.)

LEADER of the nuptial band,
Hither, Hymen, quickly move;
In thy porch the lovers stand,
Full of wishes, full of love:
Hymen, Hymen, haste away,
Join their bands, nor let 'em stay.
Harley fair by Portland led,
She sole child of learning's friend,
He in school of honour bred,
Panting at thy gates attend:
Hymen, Hymen, &c.
Lo the portals open wide,
To receive the welcome guest;
Happy bridegroom, happy bride!
Blessing, in each other blest!
Guard them, Hymen, and secure
Pleasures which may long endure.
Never, never may they rise,
But to meet a cheerful day,
May the minutes to their eyes,
Seem to fly too fast away.
Guard them, Hymen, &c.
Ever strangers to their bed,
Be reproach and wakeful care;
When the veil of night is spread,
Let content be posset there.
Guard them, Hymen, &c.
Fair and many be their days,
Many be their joys and free:
Such as may not soil their praise;
Virtue may not blush to see.
Guard them, Hymen, &c.
On a brave and lovely race
May the tender parents smile;
Where we may their lineage trace,
Ornaments of Britain's isle.
Guard them, Hymen, &c.
May (the height of all desire!),
When this scene of life is o'er
Both without a pain retire,
Where the virtuous went before.
Hymen, Hymen, yield the pair
To the pow'r that made 'em fair.

On the Post Laureat's Arrival at Scarborough,
to drink the Waters. By a Gentleman of
Oxford.

FROM Helicon the bards of old have sung,
That first the tuneful train of poets sprung,
That from that well they drank capacious bowls,
Full as their fancy, large as were their souls;
That thence in epic, or in soaring odes,
Inspir'd, they trod on stars, and talk'd with gods:
—Know—

—Knowing how poor their liquor, and how
We think it is poetic fiction all. [small,

But when the laurell'd bard of Britain's king
Year after year revisits Scarb'rough's spring;
Drinks deep his draught, and purges well his
brains,

And from inspiring water tunes his strains;
When hence his odes in flights sublimely soar,
Such odes! — as poet never wrote before; —
Thy babbler water, Scarb'rough, we admire,
Which can our laureat with such strains inspire;
And bid the fabling bards no more to tell
Of Helicon or Aganippe's well:

Mad, they a fancy'd inspiration knew,
But all own Colley's inspiration true, }
For be his own outdoings can outdo.
His second birth-day ode the first surpass,
And his next ode shall still outdo his last.

Then, O ye mad romantic poets, own,
That Scarborough excells your Helicon;
Of which tho' Homer drank, he sometimes nods,
And slumbers uninspir'd among his gods;
But C—bb—r justly can this honour claim,
That he through ev'ry ode is all the same.

Ned Wealthy's last Will and Testament.
By the Author of the Essex Lady. (See p. 332.)

Since all men must
Return to dust,
From which they first did
I give my gear, [spring:
From debts quite clear
In manner following.

But lest hot broils,
And endless toils,
Bout my effects arise;
Half to my Sue,
Half to my Prue,
I frankly here devise.

My thrice soal'd shoes,
My Sunday hose,
A jacket made of leather;
An old straw bed,
That serv'd poor Ned,
In boisterous stormy wea-
ther.

A pottage pot
My grannum bought
Whilom of neighbour
Stitch;

A great-arm'd chair,
So soft with hair,
'Twou'd suit a lady's
breach.

My crop-ear'd dog,
My bob-tail'd hog,
A pound of black sheep's
wool;

An ax and saw,
An old jackdaw,
A crazy three-leg'd stool.

A trundle mop,
A mutton chop, [gir;
A quart of Holland's
Two candlesticks,
A bunch of leeks,
A pipot made of tin.

Some pitch and tar,
An earthen jar,
A milk pail, seive and
platter;
Two birchen brooms
To sweep your rooms;
An antient nutmeg-
grater.

A knife and fork,
Some pickled pork,
Wou'd tempt a very Jew;
All these I leave,
And frankly give
Unto my daughter Sue.

The Fairy Tales,
Some horse-shoe nails,
The book of Common
Prayer;

A leathern bag,
A leaky cag, [beer.
Two quarts of dead small

Some purging pills
To cure kibe-beels,
And 'gainst sore toes to
arm you;

Some rotten wood,
That's very good, [you.
In winter time to warm

A christ'ning can,
A clofestoole pan,
A cupboard, cock and
cradle,
An oaken staff,
A lousy calf, [ladle.
A long sword, lock, and
Your mother's ring,
That cursed thing,
Which ruin'd me long
Besides the rest, [since,
I gave the priest,
It cost me eighteen pence.
A rotten cheese,
A pint of pease,
An old grey mare with
one eye;
Some barley bread,
Some mustard seed,

And fifteen pence in
money.

Now to conclude,
As I've bestow'd
My whole estate among
you,

Pray, daughters dear,
Always take care
Your neighbours never
wrong you.

Be therefore kind,
And of one mind,
In nought but goodness
vie;

Regard, your dad
Spoke this when bad,
And just about to die.

E. C.

Wrote on a Window in the Long Room at
Scarborough, by the Poet Laureat.

* **D**OLCIA and † Darcia, when in dance
they move,

You ask me, Madam, which I most approve?
The lively *this*, the graceful *that* exerts,
The weakest strong enough to seize our hearts.
Themselves, like friends, their rival talents see;
And both to yield the preference agree.

In taste we're guided, not by truth; but since }
Comparison's too apt to give offence,
'Tis hardly safe to split the difference. }
Yet truth may say, and 'tis a wrong to neither.
We're best delighted when they're both
together.

Wrote underneath by another Hand.

'How happy cou'd I be with either, }
'Were t'other dear charmer away: }
Thus rightly 'twas express'd by honest Gay: }
But Cibber, loath such beauteous forms to sever,
Has wisely chose to stitch them both together.

* Miss Fanny Dalton. † Miss Darcy.

Silvia's Recovery.

RESTLESS and sick poor Silvia lay,
In darken'd room confin'd;
And thought the melancholy hours
Lagg'd lazily behind.

Long were the nights; nurse very dull;
Her physick had no force:
The couch was queer; the chairs were bad,
The bed was ten times worse.

To her a second Ratchiff comes:

Madam, how is't to-day?

Oh! bad: Oh! very bad indeed:

This pain won't go away.

He stands at window full of thought,

Just like a pigg at pigs.

Says he, your cure is in my hands,

If you can solve me this.

M m m 2

A noted person's passing by,
 Who's known the city round :
 The moment that you guess his name,
 Your certain cure is found.
 Then sickly *Silvia* rais'd her head,
 In hopes of having ease ;
 And with a look and voice most sweet,
 I'll try, Sir, if you please.
 Is't my lord mayor, or 'squire *Catch* ;
 Or one of the ale-conners ?
 Sheriffs, recorder, chamberlain,
 Or any of their honours ?
 Is't *Galeb Danvers*, or is't *Fog* ;
 Or *Walsingham* in chariot ?
 Or lady *Osborne* through the streets
 Fast trudging from her garret ?
 Is't doctor *Hyp*, or *Rock*, or *Moore*,
 The penny-post, or so ?
 At which the doctor look'd most wise,
 And gravely answer'd, no.
 Then *Silvia* with soft piteous tone,
 I'm tir'd upon my word, man ;
 Nor have I any hopes of ease,
 Except it be *Tom T--d-man*.
 That's he ! that's he ! the doctor cry'd :
 At which her sides she shook,
 With laughter loud so heartily,
 That her imposthume broke.
 The doctor pleas'd, and *Silvia* eas'd,
 Both beg that *C---ll---y Bays*,
 For this great cure so quickly wrought,
 Will sing *Tom T--d-man's* praise.

A Poem by Sir W. Raleigh.

SHALL I, like an hermit, dwell
 On a rock, or in a cell,
 Calling home the smallest part,
 That is missing of my heart,
 To bestow it, where I may
 Meet a rival ev'ry day ?
 If she undervalue me ;
 What care I how fair she be ?

Were her tresses angel gold ;
 If a stranger may be bold,
 Unrebuked, unafraid,
 To convert them to a brayde,
 And, with little more a-do,
 Work them into bracelets too ;
 If the mine be grown so free ;
 What care I how rich it be ?

Were her hand as rich a prize
 As her hairs, or precious eyes ;
 If she lay them out to take
 Kisses for good manners sake ;
 And let every lover skip
 From her hand unto her lip ;
 If she seem not chaste to me ;
 What care I how chaste she be ?

No ; she must be perfect snow,
 In effect as well as show,

Warming but as snow-balls do,
 Not like fire by burning too ;
 But when she, by change, hath got
 To her heart a second lot ;
 Then, if others share with me,
 Farewel her, what e'er she be !

A Poem occasioned by the foregoing.

Incerti Auctoris.

PAIN'T, paint no more, no longer blot
 Nor chequer so thy face with spots,
 That I must view thee as men strive
 To see eclipses, through a sieve :
 Be thou but pleasing unto me ;
 What care I what else thou be ?

Be thou fatter than an hog,
 A butcher's doublet, or his dog ;
 Be thy cheeks butter, thy nose grease ;
 May we make brewis on thy face ;
 Yet if thou do not melt to me ;
 What care I how fat thou be ?

Be thy nose like fiery coals,
 Or a grater full of holes ;
 Let it turn up, or else hook in,
 And so be clasp'd unto thy chin ;
 Yet, if it turn not unto me ;
 What care I how crook'd it be ?

Though reading thou must look so close,
 As thou wert reading with thy nose ;
 From thine eyes let filth run more,
 Than a broke boil, or plaguy sore ;
 Yet, if they do not look on me ;
 What care I how foul they be ?

Canst thou out-scold a butter wench,
 Or a fresh lawyer at the bench ?
 Canst thou the noise of thunder drown,
 Sour all the beer about the town ?
 Yet, if thou wilt not speak to me ;
 What care I how loud thou be ?

Be thy mouth like jaws of death,
 That they who kiss, must kiss thy teeth,
 And hold by th' handle of thy chin,
 Lest their foot slip, and they fall in ;
 Yet, if thou wilt not gape on me ;
 What care I how broad it be ?

Smells thy breath like nurse's clout,
 Or a candle newly cut,
 Or so that men mistake the place,
 And untruss coming near thy face ;
 Yet, if it smell not so to me ;
 What care I how strong it be ?

Women, like paper, whilst they are white,
 Are fit for ev'ry man to write.
 I'd have a mistress, such an one,
 I might be sure she was mine own.
 Be thou then but such to me ;
 What care I what else thou be.

To Mr. Ellis, upon his intending to draw the
Picture of Miss Atherton.

1.

FOND fellow-labourer, attend;
And, warn'd by me, be timely wise:
Forget the rival in the friend;
And hear a sister-art advise,

2.

If, emulous of Grecian fame,
You would your pencil's force approve,
Warm'd by ambition's glorious flame,
And proof to the assaults of love;

3.

Well hast thou chose, and justly fought
The sweetest, surest means, to raise
Thy art: who, from example taught,
By beauty's aid aspir'd to praise.

4.

When * Zeuxis would a wonder paint,
Exploring fancy's utmost reach;
He found the images too faint,
And from the life improv'd the sketch;

5.

Selecting from the virgin train,
Each captivating charm he took:
From one the mien of Delorain;
And one supply'd Dorinda's look.

6.

What could he more, who could in none
Perfection, which he aim'd at, see?
For, to behold an Atherton,
Thy kinder fates reserv'd for thee.

7.

Yet, blended by the master's skill,
The varying charms with nice accord
The promise of his art fulfil,
A Helen to the world restor'd.

8.

Thy mind if like ambition fire,
Thou too with like success be blest!
But if fond love, with vain desire
To win the fair, torment thy breast;

9.

Desist, rash youth! and by the doom
Of my fond unavailing strain,
Learn, that the matchless beauty, whom
No art can flatter, none can gain.

10.

Unheeded by the nymph divine,
Like Ecbo I renew my lays:
And thou, unhappy friend, shalt pine,
Narcissus like in fruitless gaze.

11.

So shall the world with me complain,
That doubly you our hopes abuse:
That where we thought we might obtain
A Helen, we a Zeuxis lose.

* A famous Grecian Painter.

EPIGRAM.

1.

TOM ever jovial, ever gay,
To appetite a slave,

Still whores and drinks his life away,
And laughs to see me grave.

2.

'Tis thus that we two disagree,
So different is our whim:
The fellow fondly laughs at me;
And I could cry for him.

Cupid, a Truant, found out.

YE nymphs of Scarborough, if, as ye stray,
Ye find the froth-born * goddess of the
sea,

All blubber'd, pale, and crying she's undone,
Seeking the little vagabond † her son;
Ah kindly bid her give her sorrows o'er,
For to redeem him now is in her pow'r;
If ought to him that finds him she'll impart,
Tell her the rover lodges in my heart.

* Venus. † Cupid.

On a Flower, which fell from Miss D--rc--'s
Bosom in the Long Room at Scarborough.

SWEET flow'r, whence is this hue,
Which does all hues excel?
Whence all this grace in you?
Whence all this fragrant smell?

You grew in Pæsan's field,
Where nature's bounties meet: —
— But nature ne'er cou'd yield
A flower yet so sweet.

O has the queen of love,
While her Adonis bled,
With blood to dye you strove,
Which gives this lovely red?

No—No—Thou happy flow'r,
The nobler cause I've mist;
On D--rc--'s breast you bore,
And D--rc--'s lips you kist.

Verses to a young Lady, on her losing a small
Ruby Heart from her Ring.

CAN trifles so much causeless grief bestow,
And you with scorn behold my solid woe?
Shall a small heart, by human hands impress'd,
Create more mighty sorrow in your breast,
Than this afflicted, bleeding heart of mine,
Tho' fashion'd by an architect divine?

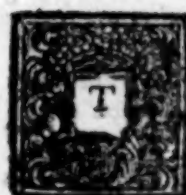
O lovely maid, such trivial ills no more
With this absurd and ill-plac'd grief deplore;
But cast on him your kind, relenting eyes,
Who, for your fatal charms, in secret, sighs:
To ease my anguish, and allay my smart,
Return me mine,—or in exchange, your heart.

N. B. The Hymn to God, which we were
desir'd to insert, may be found in our Magazine
for April last, page 212. And Mr. Savage's
Verses to a young Lady, in our Magazine for
August, 1733, page 418.

The

The GENTLEMAN's Monthly Intelligencer.

AUGUST, 1734.



THREE Men received Sentence of Death at the Assizes at *Hertford*, one for House-breaking, and two for Horse-stealing. Two Men were condemn'd at *New-Sarum*, at the Assizes there for the County of *Wilts*; one for House-breaking, and the other for robbing on the High-way: And at *Chebmsford* Assizes for the County of *Essex*, one was condemned for robbing his Master of 4*l.* in Money, and another for a Robbery on the Highway. Many of the Assizes prov'd maiden ones, *i. e.* none were capitally convicted.

THURSDAY, Aug. 1.

This Day at One o'Clock, Sir *Clement Cottrel*, attended by three of his Majesty's Coaches with six Horses each, came to the Trustees Office for *Georgia* in *Old Palace Yard*, and proceeded from thence with the *Indian King*, *Queen*, and *Chiefs*, and the Interpreter, to *Kensington Palace*, where his Majesty received them, seated on his Throne, in the Presence Chamber; and *Tomo Chabbi*, *Micho* or King of *Yamacraw*, made the following Speech.

' This Day I see the Majesty of your Face, the Greatness of your House, and the Number of your People. I am come for the Good of the whole Nation called the *Creeks*, to renew the Peace which long ago they had with the *English*. I am come over in my old Days; tho' I cannot live to see any Advantage to myself, I am come for the Good of the Children of all the Nations of the Upper and of the Lower *Creeks*, that they may be instructed in the Knowledge of the *English*.

' These are the Feathers of the Eagle, which is the swiftest of Birds, and who fieth all round our Nations: These Feathers are a Sign of Peace in our Land, and have been carried from Town to Town there, and we have brought them over to leave with you, O Great King, as a Sign of everlasting Peace.

' O Great King, whatsoever Words you shall say unto me, I will tell them faithfully to all the Kings of the *Creek* Nations.'

To which his Majesty gave this Answer.

' I am glad of this Opportunity of assuring you of my Regard for the People from whom you come, and am extremely well pleased with the Assurances you have

' brought me from them, and accept very graciously this Present, as an Indication of their good Disposition to me and my People. I shall always be ready to cultivate a good Correspondence between them and my own Subjects, and shall be glad of any Occasion to shew you a Mark of my particular Friendship and Esteem.

They were afterwards introduced to her Majesty, to whom *Tomo Chabbi* made the following Speech.

' I am glad to see this Day, and the Opportunity of seeing the Mother of this great People.

' As our People are join'd with your Majesty's, we do humbly hope to find you the common Mother and Protectress of us and all our Children.'

To which her Majesty return'd a most gracious Answer.

They were very importunate to appear at Court in the Manner they go in their own Country, which is only with a proper Covering round their Waist, all the rest of their Body being naked; but Mr. *Oglethorpe*, whom they reverence as their Father, recommending to them the Dress they have at present, they declined any farther Solicitations. Their Faces were painted in a surprizing Manner, some half black, others triangular, and others with bearded Arrows instead of Whiskers. *Tomo Chabbi* the Chief, and *Senauki* his Wife, had on Scarlet Garments adorn'd with Furr and Gold Lace, two others were in Blue, and three more in Yellow, with Furr; all of them wore their own *Indian* Shoes and Boots, and had their Heads dress'd with Feathers. (See p. 384.)

FRIDAY, 2.

This Night died, at his Apartments in the *Little Ambrey, Westminster*, one of the *Indian* Chiefs, Brother to the *Queen*. The particular Manner of burying him in the Burying Ground of *St. John* the Evangelist in the *Horse Ferry Road*, according to the Custom of the Kings and Inhabitants of *Karakee Creeks* was as follows, *viz.* The Deceased being sew'd up in two Blankets with one Deal Board under and another over him, and tied down with a Cord, was placed upon a Bier, and carried to the Place of Interment; there were only present at the Time of his being put into the Grave, the Emperor *Tomo*, some of his Domesticks, the Upper Church-Warden of the Parish, and the Grave-

Grave-Digger. When the Corpse was laid in the Earth, without any Rites or Ceremony, the Cloaths of the Deceased were thrown into the Grave; after this a Quantity of Glass Beads were cast in, and then some Pieces of Silver: For the Custom of those Indians is to bury all their Effects with them.

SATURDAY, 3.

This Night the Master of an Alehouse in *Rosemary Lane* near *Goodman's Fields*, and three other Persons, were taken up on an Information of inlisting Men for foreign Service: They resisted the Officers who came to apprehend them near two Hours, in which Time several of their Associates escaped.

SUNDAY, 4.

His Majesty's Fleet, consisting of 21 Men of War and three Fire-Ships, under the Command of Sir *John Norris*, Sir *George Walton*, and Rear-Admiral *Haddock*, sailed from the *Docks* for *Spithead*,

MONDAY, 5.

His Excellency Baron *Stark*, Minister from the Duke of *Holstein Gottorp* at this Court, presented her Royal Highness the Princess *Amelia* a Gold Snuff-Box curiously chased, having within Side the Picture of his Highness enameled, set round with curious Diamonds of great Value.

His Majesty has signed a License, giving Leave to any of his Subjects to lend the Emperor the Sum of 300,000*l.* at 6 per Cent. on the Security of the Silver Mines in *Silesia*.

TUESDAY, 13.

Both Houses of Parliament met at *Westminster*, pursuant to his Majesty's late Prorogation; and were further prorogued to the 26th of September.

At the Assizes at *Horsbarn* in *Suffex*, a Villain who committed a barbarous Murder on *Richard Miles* (who kept a little Ale-house near *Ditchelling-Common*) by cutting his Throat with a Hook Knife from Ear to Ear, in the Stable, as he was cleaning his Horse, and afterwards murdered his Wife, who was sick in Bed, and also his Maid Servant, was capitally convicted, and received Sentence of Death; and was ordered to be hung in Chains on *Ditchelling-Common*, facing the House where he committed the said Murder.

At the Assizes at *Derby*, about this Time, one Man receiv'd Sentence of Death for the Murder of his Wife; three Men at *Norwich*, for robbing on the Highway; two at *Hereford*, for Burglary; two at *Maidstone*, viz. one for Horse-stealing, and the other for the Murder of Mr. *Bilson*, at *Leuvisbam* in *Kent*.

An Eagle, the largest that has been seen in England, was taken by a Taylor, on a Gate near *Carleton* in *Kent*; its Wings, when expanded, were 3 Yards and 8 Inches in Length, between Feather and Feather; but being claimed by Sir — *Langborn*, as his Right, being Lord of the Manor, it was delivered to him.

This News being brought to Town, one of the King's Falconers was sent to demand it, as being a Royal Bird, and he brought it with him to *Kensington*.

SATURDAY, 17.

The Archbishop of *Canterbury* sent his Barge to wait on *Tomo Chachi*, Micho or King of *Yamacraw*, and the rest of the Indians; in which they went to *Putney*, being engag'd to dine at Lady *Dutry's*, where they were entertain'd in a very handsome Manner. *Tomo Chachi* made a Compliment to Lady *Dutry* on his taking Leave of her, in which he said, could he but speak *English* he could tell her the Thoughts of his Heart, and how sensibly he was touch'd with the noble Reception she had given him; and was much more pleased with being able to see and thank her, for having assisted in sending the White People to *Georgia*.

They next waited on his Grace the Archbishop at *Lambeth*, who received them with the utmost Kindness, and express'd his Fatherly Concern for the Ignorance they were in with Respect to Christianity, his strong Desire for their Instruction, and great Satisfaction at the Probability of the Door being now opened towards it. His Grace notwithstanding his present Weakness, would stand up; the Micho perceiving it to be uneasy to him, insisted upon his sitting down, which his Grace excusing, the Micho omitted speaking what he intended, and only desired his Grace's Blessing, acquainting him, that what he had further to say he would speak to the Rev. Dr. *Lynch*, his Grace's Son-in-Law, and then withdrew. He had a Conference with the Rev. Dr. *Lynch*, and express'd his great Satisfaction at the venerable Appearance of his Grace, and the Tenderness he express'd towards him. After the Micho return'd, he shew'd great Joy, believing some good Persons would be sent to them to instruct their Youth.

The Assizes ended at *Kingsdon upon Thames*, when two Persons, viz. *John Bullney*, and *Edward Tayler*, being convicted of House-breaking, received Sentence of Death. *Perkins* the Gardiner was tried for the Murder of his Wife, (See p. 326.) and *James Williman* for the Murder of one *Bridges* in a Boxing-match, and were found guilty of *Man-slaughter*. The *Bridewell* Boys were arraign'd for creating a Riot at the late Election of the Borough of *Southwark*, but Nobody appearing against them, they were acquitted. One of the Electors of the said Borough was prosecuted by *William Sheppard*, Esq; upon the Act of Parliament against Bribery and Corruption: This was the first Tryal on the Act; it lasted several Hours, and the Jury were out from Morning till Evening, when they found for the Defendant.

There has been coined at the Tower, since his

448 MARRIAGES, &c. in AUGUST, 1734.

his Majesty's Accession, of Gold 43940 Pound Weight, which at 44l. 10s. per Pound Weight, makes in Tale 1955330l. Sterling; of Silver 8742 Pound Weight, which at 3l. 2s. per Pound Weight, makes in Tale 27100l. 4s.

TUESDAY, 20.

The Assizes ended at *Worcester*, when the four following receiv'd Sentence of Death, viz. *Robert Marie*, *George Crockatt*, and *Alexander Campbell*, for the Murder of *Robert Pool*; and *Thomas Crawfoot* for House-breaking.

SATURDAY, 24.

James Jacob Daves alias *Harris*, condemn'd at the last Assizes at *Horsbarnham*, was executed on a Gibbet at *Ditchelling Common* in *Suffex*, for the Murder of *Richard Miles*, his Wife, and Servant Maid. He was afterwards hang'd in Chains on the said Gibbet.

MARRIAGES.

HER Grace the Dutchess Dowager of *Norfolk*, married to *Peregrine Widdrington*, Esq;

Gilbert Digby, of *Hensfield* in *Hampshire*, Esq; to Miss *Sophia Allen*, Daughter of *George Allen*, Esq;

— *Chibbly*, Esq; Secretary to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, to Mrs. *Brightwell*, one of the Daughters of — *Brightwell*, of *Papworth* in *Berkshire*, Esq; a 15,000l. Fortune.

The Hon. and Rev. *William Carmichael*, L. L. D. second Son to the Earl of *Hyndford*, to Mrs. *Godscall*.

John Bird, Esq; to Miss *Murphey* of *St. Alban's*.

Richard Heath, Esq; to Miss *Nicholls*, Daughter of — *Nicholls*, Esq; of *Spring-Gardens* near *Charing-Cross*.

Arthur Garbart of *Tedworth* in *Huntingtonshire*, Esq; to Miss *Ruebery* of *Petersham* in *Surrey*.

James Gordon of *Aberdeenshire*, Esq; a near Relation to the Duke of *Gordon*, to Miss *Heron*, Daughter of *Patrick Heron*, Esq; Member of Parliament for the Stewartry of *Kirkcubright*.

George Lynn of *Northamptonshire*, Esq; to Miss *Anne Bellamy*, eldest Daughter of Sir *Edward Bellamy*, Knt. and Alderman of this City.

Nicholas Glynn, of *Cornwall*, Esq; to Miss *Nicholls*, a 30,000l. Fortune.

DEATHS.

LADY *Downing*, Wife of Sir *George Downing*, Knt. of the *Bath*, and Bart.

At *Reading* in *Berks*, *Frederick Waller*, Esq; one of his Majesty's Justices of the Peace for the said County.

Col. *Bland*, formerly Aid de Camp to the Duke of *Marlborough*, and Col. of a Company under him, in the first Regiment of Foot Guards.

The Lady of General *Diemar*, Minister

from the Landgrave of *Hesse-Cassel*.

At *Scarborough*, *Thomas Cook Hughes*, Esq; In 1684, he changed his Name from *Cook* to *Hughes*, by Act of Parliament, on Account of a large Estate left him by Mr. *Hughes* of *Sprafon* in the County of *York*.

General *Hopky*, a Gentleman of foreign Extraction, who has made a considerable Figure in this Court.

Sir *David Nairne*, Knt. Secretary to the most antient and noble Order of the *Thistle*.

The Lord *Forbes* (a Youth) one of the Peers of *Scotland*.

The Lady of Governor *Boon*, formerly Governor of *Bombay*.

Rev. Mr. *John Francis*, Head-Master of the King's School at *Canterbury*, and Rector of *Harbledown* in *Kent*.

Robert Shorting, Esq; late Commander of his Majesty's Ship the *Deal-Castle*.

Anne, Countess Dowager of *Cromerty*.

On the 10th in the Morning died, in the 71st Year of his Age, at his Palace at *Chelsea*, after a short Illness, the Right Rev. Father in God *Richard Willis*, Lord Bishop of *Winchester*, Prelate of the most Noble Order of the *Garter*, Clerk of the Closet to his Majesty, and one of the Commissioners for building fifty new Churches. He was made Dean of *Lincoln* by King *William*: Was consecrated Bishop of *Gloucester* in the first Year of his late Majesty, in the room of Dr. *Fowler*; on the 21st of *Nov.* 1721, he was translated to the See of *Salisbury*, in the room of Dr. *Talbot*, who was promoted to that of *Durham*; and on the 21st of *Sept.* 1723, he was translated from *Salisbury* to *Winchester*, in the room of the late Dr. *Trimnel*.

Mr. *Sam. Palmer*, an eminent Surgeon, formerly in that Quality to *St. Bartholomew's-Hospital*, of which he was afterwards Treasurer.

At his Seat of *Nunwell*, in the Isle of *Wight*, Sir *William Oglander*, Bart.

At *Cheshunt*, *Hertfordshire*, the Rev. Mr. *Chapman*, Minister of that Parish, and one of the Prebendaries of *Chichester*; he possessed that Living upwards of 40 Years. The late Bishop of *Winchester* was formerly his Curate.

Josias Abbot of *Whittlesea* in the Isle of *Ely*, in the 103d Year of his Age.

The Lady of Dr. *Horseman*, an eminent Physician.

Miss *Lee*, Daughter and sole Heiress of Colonel *Lee*, of *Addington-Hall* near *Chesh.*

Rev. Mr. *James Taylor*, Rector and Vicar of the Parishes of *St. Augustin's* and *St. John's* in *Bristol*.

Captain *Baker*, an old experienc'd Officer in the Army.

Wm. Pitt, of *Ratbone-Place* near *Soho*, Esq;

Sir *George Brown*, of *Thornydikes* in *Scotland*, Bart.

John Stileman, Esq; in *Charter-house-square*.
Penelope, Lady *Cower*, second Lady to the Lord

Lord Gover, Relict of Sir Henry Atkins, of Clapham in Surrey, Bart. and third Daughter of the late Sir John Stonehouse, Bart.

Mrs. Sayer, Relict of the late Dr. Exton Sayer, and Sister to the Lord Chancellor.

The Earl of Londonderry (aged about 17) by a Fall from his Horse.

The Lady of Dr. Baker, late Bp. of Norwich.

The Lady of Sir John Hynd-Cotton, Bart.

Dr. Vaughan, an eminent Physician, F. R. S.

At Leyden, in the 16th Year of his Age, the Hon. Mr. Wentworth, eldest Son of the Lord Malton.

Rev. Mr. Theed, Master of Barkhamstead Free-School, and Vicar of Marfworth.

On the 28th at Night, died at Newcastle-House in Clerkenwell-Close, in the 96th Year of her Age, her Grace Elizabeth Dutchess Dowager of Albemarle, and Dutchess Dowager of Montagu. Her Grace was eldest Daughter and one of the Coheirs of Henry Cavendish, Duke of Newcastle, and marry'd, first, Christopher Monk, Duke of Albemarle, Son to the famous General Monk, and next, Ralph Lord Montagu, afterwards Duke of Montagu, Father to the present Duke. She was his Grace's second Wife, and had no Issue by him. She was allied to most of the noble Families in England. Besides being Mother-in-Law to the Duke of Montagu, and consequently Grandmother to the Dutchess of Manchester and Countess of Cardigan, she was Aunt to the Countess of Oxford, to the Lady Viscountess Morpeth, to the Countesses of Salisbury and Harold, and to the Lady Lovel, Baroness of Clifford. She was likewise Great Aunt to the Dutchess of Portland, to the present Duke of Newcastle, and to the Earl of Rockingham.

Ecclesiastical PREFERMENTS.

Mr. William Lane collated into the Prebend of Netberhaven in the Church of Sarum.

Mr. Wyatt, Vicar of West-Ham in Essex, and Chaplain to the Bishop of London, collated to the Prebend of Harleston in the Cathedral Church of St. Paul.

Mr. Palmer presented to the Rectory of Carleton-Curlew, Leicestershire.

George Neal, A. M. to the Rectory of Croft in the County of York and Diocese of Chester.

Richard Monins, A. M. Rector of Ringewold, chosen by the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury, Chief Master of the King's School there, in the room of Mr. Francis, deceased.

Mr. Savage, Rector of St. George's Hanover-Square, presented by the Earl of Salisbury, to the Vicarage of Cheshunt in Hertfordshire.

Mr. John Tillard, to the Rectory of St Martin's alias Carfax, Oxford.

PROMOTIONS Civil and Military.

Mr. Adlam made Clerk of the Securities in the Excise-Office, a Place worth 200l. per Ann.

Stone, Esq; appointed one of the under Secretaries of State in the Duke of Newcastle's Office, in the room of Charles Delafaye, Esq; who resign'd.

Mr. John Richards, Town-Clerk of Tiverton, appointed a Master extraordinary in Chancery, in the room of his Father deceased.

Richard Baker, Esq; Consul at Madeira.

Henry Gadrie, Esq; Purveyor of Wines to his Majesty's Household.

His Majesty has been pleas'd to confirm unto Margaret Baroness Lovell, third Daughter and one of the Co-heiresses of Thomas late Earl of Thanet, deceased, and to her Heirs, the antient Barony of Clifford. This Barony descended to the late Earl of Thanet as lineal Heir to the Lady Ann his Grandmother, Daughter and Heir to the old E. of Cumberland, Baron of Clifford; and his Lordship having petitioned King William to have the same allowed him, it was confirm'd to him by Parliament in 1691. The Creation bears Date the 29th of Dec. 1299, the 28th of Edw. I. so that the Lady Lovell, now Lady Clifford, is the third Baroness of England, taking Place next after Lord Abergavenny, and the Earl of Castlehaven as Baron Audley of Heleigh.

Brigadier General Barrell kiss'd the King's Hand for the Reg. lately commanded by the Lord Cadogan.

George Webb, Esq; made Capt. of Invalids in Minorca, in the room of the late Capt. Hall.

Capt. Beschefer made Major of Brig. Pocock's Regiment.

Capt. Farrer made Major in the Lord Cadogan's Reg. of Dragoons, late the Earl of Stair's.

Edward Montague, Esq; made Capt. in Col. Montagu's Reg.

Capt. Triggs made Capt. in the Earl of Effingham's Reg.

Capt. Weston made Capt. in Lord Orkney's Royal Scots.

Henry Rose, Esq; made Justice of the King's Bench, Ireland; in the room of W. Caulfield, Esq; who resign'd.

Paul Sydall, of Westminster, Esq; appointed one of his Majesty's Justices of the Peace for the County of Middlesex.

The Lord Chancellor elected one of the Governors of the Charterhouse, in the room of the late Lord King.

Bettesworth, Esq; Lieutenant Governor of Jersey, made Captain of an independent Company of Invalids in that Island.

Sir Tho. Brand, Gentleman-Usher of the Green Rod, and one of the Gentlemen-Ushers to his Majesty, made Chancellor to the most noble Order of the Thistle, in the room of Sir David Nairne, deceased. He is succeeded in his former Posts by Patrick Heron, Esq;.

N n n

Prices

N. B. The Bankrupts shall be inserted in our next.

450 Prices of Goods, &c. in AUGUST, 1734.

Towards the End of the Month.

STOCKS.

S. Sea 79 $\frac{1}{2}$	Afric. 20
—Bonds 60s Prem.	Royal Aff. 97
—Annu. 105 $\frac{1}{2}$	Lon. ditto 12 $\frac{1}{4}$
Bank 138 $\frac{1}{2}$ a $\frac{1}{2}$	T. Build. 3
—Circ. 3 2 6	3 p. C. An. 93 $\frac{1}{2}$
Mil. Bank 108 $\frac{1}{2}$	Eng Copper 11. 15s.
India 143	Welsh Books shut
—Bonds 65s	

The Course of EXCHANGE.

Amst. 35 9 a 10	Bilboa 39 $\frac{1}{8}$
D. Sight 35 7 a 8	Legborn 49 $\frac{1}{8}$ a 50
Rotter. 35 10	Genoa 52 $\frac{1}{4}$ a $\frac{1}{2}$
Hamb. 35 9	Venice 49 $\frac{1}{4}$
P. Sight 31 $\frac{1}{8}$ a 2	Lish. 5 5 $\frac{1}{8}$ a $\frac{1}{2}$
Bourd. ul 31	Oport. 5 4 $\frac{1}{8}$ a $\frac{1}{4}$
Cadiz 40 $\frac{1}{4}$ a $\frac{1}{8}$	Antw. 36
Madrid 40 $\frac{1}{4}$	Dublin 10 $\frac{1}{8}$ a 11

Prices of Goods at Bear-Key.

Wheat 30 34	Oates 9 13
Rye 15 17	Tares 18 23
Barley 14 17	Pease 20 22
H. Beans 16 20	H. Pease 16 19
P. Malt 17 20	B. Malt 16 19

Prices of Goods, &c. in London. Hay 36s. to 42s. a Load.

Coals per Chaldron 23 a 24
New Hops per Hun. 5l. a 6l. 10
Old Hops 3l. 10s. a 4l.
Rape Seed 19 a 11
Lead the Fodder 19 Hun. 1 half
on board, 14 a 14l. 10s.
Tin in Blocks 3l. 14
Ditto in Bars 4l.
Copper Eng. best 5l. 5s.
Ditto ordinary 4l. 16s. a 5l.
Ditto Barbary 8s a 9s.
Iron of Bilboa 15l. 5s. per Ton.
Ditto of Sweden 16l. 10s.
Tallow 30 a 31s.
Country Tallow 30s.
Cochineal 18s. 3

Grocery Wares by the C.

Raisins of the S. new 32s.
Ditto Malaga Frailes 17s.
Ditto Smirna new 22s.
Ditto Alicant 18s.
Ditto Lipra new 19s.
Ditto Belvedera 29s.
Currants 35s.
Prunes French none
Figs 20s.

Sugar Powder best 54 a 59s.
Ditto second Sort 46s. a 50
Loaf Sugar doubleres. 8d. half a 9d.
Ditto single refine 56s. a 64s.

Grocery Wares by the lb.

Cinamon 7s. 8d.
Cloves 9s. 1d.
Mace 15s. 0d.
Nutmegs 8s. 7d.
Sugar Candy white 14 a 18d.
Ditto brown 6d.
Pepper for home consump. 16d.
Ditto for Exportation 12d. 1 4th
Tea Bobea fine 10s. a 12s.
Ditto ordinary 8s.
Ditto Congo 19 a 12s.
Ditto Pehoe 14 a 16s.
Ditto Green fine 9 a 12s.
Ditto Imperial 9 a 12s.
Ditto Hyson 20 a 25s.

Drugs by the lb.

Balsam Peru 14s.
Cardamoms 3s. 6d.
Campfire resin'd 10s.
Crabs Eyes 11 8d.
Jallop 2s. 3d.

Manna 2s. 6d. a 4s.
Mastick white 4s. 0d.
Opium 9s.
Quicksilver 4s. 3d.
Rhubarb 18 a 25s.
Sarsaparilla 3s. 0d.
Saffron English 22s. 6d.
Wormseeds none
Balsam Copaiwa 3s. 0d.
Balsam of Gilead 20s.
Hypocacuanæ 4s. 6d. a 5
Ambergreece per oz. 8s.
Wine, Brandy, and Rum.
Oporto red per Pipe 25l. a 26l.
Ditto white none
Lisbon red 35 a 40l.
Ditto white 26 a 28l.
Sberry 26l.
Canary new 25 a 28l.
Ditto old 32 a 34l.
Florence 3l.
French red 30l. a 40l.
Ditto white 20l.
Mountain Malaga old 24l.
Ditto new 20 l. a 21
Brandy Fr. per Gal. 7s. a 8s.
Rum of Jam. 6 a 7s.
Ditto Low. Islands 6s. 4d. a 6s. 10d.

Abstract of the London WEEKLY BILL, from July 23 to Aug. 27.

Christned	Males 844	} 1695
	Females 851	
Buried	Males 1348	} 2669
	Females 1321	

Died under 2 Years old	1237
Between 2 and 5	350
5 10	148
10 20	76
20 30	168
30 40	200
40 50	172
50 60	130
60 70	94
70 80	62
80 90	26
90 and upwards	6

2669

FROM

FROM Vienna. Several Princes of the Empire have protested against the Russians setting Foot in the Empire; so that 'tis believed their March to join the Imperial Army will be countermanded.

From Petersburg. The French Troops brought lately to Constadt, to the Number of 2,000 and upwards, are handsomely entertain'd by special Order from Court, which has sent M. de la Motte, their Commander in Chief, a Declaration as follows; 'That the said Troops will be detained till the Russian Frigate, with three other Vessels taken by the French be restor'd, and conducted safe to a Russian Port, with their Equipages and Effects.

From Rome. That the eldest Son of the Chevalier de St. George, as likewise the Prince of Morocco, who some time ago embraced the Christian Religion, were gone to the Kingdom of Naples, in order to make their Campaign in the Spanish Army before Gaeta.

From Naples. On the 2d Instant the Garrison of Gaeta made a Sally upon the Besiegers, but were repuls'd with the Loss of 200 Men. On the 3d their Fire was less brisk; but on the 4th it slacken'd prodigiously. The next Day the Enemy left off Firing; and the Governor demanded on the 6th to capitulate, to prevent exposing the Town to the Consequence of an Assault Sword in Hand. His Majesty would not consent to give this Place better Terms than the others had which his Troops before reduc'd; accordingly the Governor with his Garrison, consisting of 1,500 Men, are made Prisoners of War.

The French look upon the late Motion of the Marshal d'Asfeldt as a very masterly Stroke of Policy, his March towards Mentz being only to draw the Imperial Army thither, whilst his real Designs are to besiege either the Fortrefs of Brisac or Fribourgh, and to post his Army in such a Manner, as to prevent Prince Eugene's recrossing the Neckar.

From Manheim. The Imperial Army pass'd the Neckar on the 27th without Opposition. That of France continues its March towards Brisgaw, having left behind a Corps of Troops employ'd in throwing up a Line from Spire to Neustadt.

From the Hague. Tho' few of the Electors have sent their Contingents to Prince Eugene's Army, yet that Great General finds Means to baffle the Enterprizes of his Enemies: They were the other Day within two Cannon-Shot of Mentz: They even threatned that City with a Bombardment, if the Inhabitants did not immediately raise the Contributions they demanded; but unhappily for them,

Prince Eugene appeared; he made as if he would pass the Rhine; the intrepid French set Fire to their Camp, abandoned Part of their Provisions at Neder-Ulm, returned with great Precipitation towards Worms, Frankendal and Spiers, and repassing the Rhine at Philipsburgh, went and pitched their Tents at Bruchsal, a Camp twice before in the Possession of the Imperialists, and twice possessed by the French; so that you may imagine the Country about it pretty close sheered.

Letters from the Rhine, take Notice, that the Elector Palatine being Neutral in the present War, the Imperial and French Officers repair to his Highness's Palace at Manheim, and dine together frequently, behaving to each other with that Politeness, peculiar to the French and German Nations: One Day several Sallies of Wit pass'd between the German and French Officers there, when one of the latter said, he wonder'd (for they all expected it) Why Prince Eugene did not attack them as he did the Turks at Belgrade; to which one of the German Officers reply'd, That the Prince had then Turks, and not Frenchmen to deal with.

This Letter adds, that Prince Eugene followed the French too closely to give them Time to borough themselves as they did at Philipsburgh.

Letters from the Rhine speak highly in Praise of Prince Eugene, who, notwithstanding his great Age, is seen every Day on Horseback, and exerts himself with a surprizing Activity. The good Order and Discipline which reigns throughout his Army, is likewise mention'd with great Encomiums, not the least Violence or Injury to any one escaping unpunish'd; as an Instance of which, those Letters give an Account of a Soldier that was hang'd for having cut off the Lace from his Comrade's Hat and sold it.

We have an Account from Paris of two remarkable Instances of Generosity in the young Prince of Conti: His Highness being charm'd with the intrepid Behaviour of a Grenadier, in one of the hottest Actions at the Siege of Philipsburg, he threw the brave Soldier his Purse, and at the same Time excus'd the Smallness of the Sum it contain'd, as being too poor a Reward for his Courage. The next Morning the Grenadier went to the Prince with a Pair of large Diamond Buckles, a Diamond Ring, and other Jewels of considerable Value; Sir, says he, the Gold I found in your Purse I suppose your Highness intended for me, but these I bring back to you, as having no Right to them. Yes, replies the Prince, you have a Right to them; you have doubly deserved them, first, by your Bravery, and next by your Honesty; wherefore they are yours.

The

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